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THE

# WORKS

OF

# SIR WILLIAM JONES.

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WITH

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

BY

# LORD TEIGNMOUTH.

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IN THIRTEEN VOLUMES.

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## VOLUME IV.

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# THE WORKS

OF

## SIR WILLIAM JONES.

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ON THE

### CHRONOLOGY OF THE HINDUS.

WRITTEN IN JANUARY, 1788;

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

THE great antiquity of the *Hindus* is believed so firmly by themselves, and has been the subject of so much conversation among *Europeans*, that a short view of their Chronological System, which has not yet been exhibited from certain authorities, may be acceptable to those, who seek truth without partiality to receive opinions, and without regarding any consequences, that may result from their inquiries; the consequences, indeed, of truth cannot but be desirable, and no reasonable man will apprehend any danger to society from a general diffusion of its light; but we must not suffer our-

selves to be dazzled by a false glare, nor mistake enigmas and allegories for historical verity. Attached to no system, and as much disposed to reject the *Mosaick* history, if it be proved erroneous, as to believe it, if it be confirmed by sound reasoning from indubitable evidence, I propose to lay before you a concise account of *Indian Chronology*, extracted from *Sanskrit* books, or collected from conversations with *Pandits*, and to subjoin a few remarks on their system, without attempting to decide a question, which I shall venture to start, “ whether it is “ not in fact the same with our own, but em-“ bellished and obscured by the fancy of their “ poets and the riddles of their astronomers.”

One of the most curious books in *Sanskrit*, and one of the oldest after the *Véda's*, is a tract on *religious and civil duties*, taken, as it is believed, from the oral instructions of MENU, son of BRAHMA', to the first inhabitants of the earth: a well-collated copy of this interesting law-tract is now before me: and I begin my dissertation with a few couplets from the first chapter of it: “ The sun causes the division of “ day and night, which are of two sorts, those “ of men and those of the Gods; the day, for “ the labour of *all* creatures in their several “ employments; the night, for their slumber. “ A month is a day and night of the Patriarchs;

## OF THE HINDUS.

“ and it is divided into two parts ; the bright half  
“ is their day for laborious exertions ; the dark  
“ half, their night for sleep. A year is a day  
“ and night of the Gods; and that is also di-  
“ vided into two halves; the day is, when the  
“ sun moves towards the north; the night,  
“ when it moves towards the south. Learn  
“ now the duration of a night and day of  
“ BRAHMA', with that of the ages respectively  
“ and in order. Four thousand years of the  
“ Gods they call the *Crita* (or *Satya*), age; and  
“ its limits at the beginning and at the end  
“ are, in like manner, as many hundreds.  
“ In the three successive ages, together with  
“ their limits at the beginning and end of  
“ them, are thousands and hundreds dimi-  
“ nished by one. This aggregate of four ages,  
“ amounting to twelve thousand divine years, is  
“ called an age of the Gods; and a thousand  
“ such divine ages added together must be con-  
“ sidered as a day of BRAHMA': his night has  
“ also the same duration. The before men-  
“ tioned age of the Gods, or twelve thousand  
“ of their years, multiplied by seventy-one,  
“ form what is named here below a *Manwan-*  
“ *tara*. There are alternate creations and de-  
“ structions of worlds through innumerable  
“ *Manwantara's*: the Being Supremely Desira-  
“ ble performs all this again and again.”



## ON THE CHRONOLOGY

Such is the arrangement of infinite time, which the *Hindus* believe to have been revealed from heaven, and which they generally understand in a literal sense: it seems to have intrinsic marks of being purely astronomical; but I will not appropriate the observations of others, nor anticipate those in particular, which have been made by two or three of our members, and which they will, I hope, communicate to the society. A conjecture, however, of Mr. PATERSON has so much ingenuity in it, that I cannot forbear mentioning it here, especially as it seems to be confirmed by one of the couplets just cited: he supposes, that, as a *month* of mortals is a day and night of the Patriarchs from the analogy of its bright and dark halves, so, by the same analogy, a day and night of mortals might have been considered by the ancient *Hindus* as a month of the lower world; and then a year of such months will consist only of twelve days and nights, and thirty such years will compose a lunar year of mortals; whence he surmises, that the *four million three hundred and twenty thousand* years, of which the four *Indian* ages are supposed to consist, mean only years of twelve days; and, in fact, that sum, divided by *thirty*, is reduced to *an hundred and forty-four thousand*: now *a thousand four hundred and forty* years are one *pada*, a period in the

*Hindu* astronomy, and that sum, multiplied by eighteen, amounts precisely to twenty-five thousand nine hundred and twenty, the number of years in which the fixed stars appear to perform their long revolution eastward. The last mentioned sum is the product also of an hundred and forty-four, which, according to M. BAILLY, was an old *Indian* cycle, into an hundred and eighty, or the *Tartarian* period, called *Van*, and of two thousand eight hundred and eighty into nine, which is not only one of the lunar cycles, but considered by the *Hindus* as a mysterious number and an emblem of Divinity, because, if it be multiplied by any other whole number, the sum of the figures in the different products remains, always nine, as the Deity, who appears in many forms, continues One immutable essence. The important period of twenty-five thousand nine hundred and twenty years is well known to arise from the multiplication of three hundred and sixty into seventy-two, the number of years in which a fixed star seems to move through a degree of a great circle; and, although M. LE GENTIL assures us, that the modern *Hindus* believe a complete revolution of the stars to be made in twenty-four thousand years, or fifty-four seconds of a degree to be passed in one year, yet we may have reason to think, that the old *Indian* astronomers



## ON THE CHRONOLOGY

had made a more accurate calculation, but concealed their knowledge from the people under the veil of fourteen MENWANTARA's, seventy-one divine ages, compound cycles, and years of different sorts, from those of BRAHMA' to those of *Pátala*, or the *infernal regions*. If we follow the analogy suggested by MENU, and suppose only a day and night to be called a *year*, we may divide the number of years in a divine age by *three hundred and sixty*, and the quotient will be *twelve thousand*, or the number of his *divine years* in one age; but, conjecture apart, we need only compare the two periods 4320000 and 25920, and we shall find, that among their common divisors, are 6, 9, 12, &c. 18, 36, 72, 144, &c. which numbers with their several multiples, especially in a decuple progression, constitute some of the most celebrated periods of the *Chaldeans*, *Greeks*, *Tartars*, and even of the *Indians*. We cannot fail to observe, that the number 432, which appears to be the basis of the *Indian* system, is a 60th part of 25920, and, by continuing the comparison, we might probably solve the whole enigma. In the preface to a *Váránes* Almanack I find the following wild stanza: "A thousand Great Ages are a day of "BRAHMA'; a thousand such days are an *Indian* hour of VISHNU; six hundred thousand "such hours make a period of RUDRA; and a

## OF THE HINDUS.

“ million of *Rudra*’s (or two quadrillions five hundred and ninety-two thousand trillions of lunar years), are but a second to the Supreme Being.” The *Hindu* theologians deny the conclusion of the stanza to be orthodox: “ *Time*, they say, exists not at all with GOD;” and they advise the Astronomers to mind their own business without meddling with theology. The astronomical verse, however, will answer our present purpose; for it shows, in the first place, that cyphers are added at pleasure to swell the periods; and if we take ten cyphers from a *Rudra*, or divide by ten thousand millions, we shall have a period of 259200000 years, which, divided by 60 (the usual divisor of time among the *Hindus*) will give 4320000, or a Great Age, which we find subdivided in the proportion of 4, 3, 2, 1, from the notion of *virtue* decreasing arithmetically in the *golden*, *silver*, *copper*, and *earthen*, ages. But, should it be thought improbable, that the *Indian* astronomers in very early times had made more accurate observations than those of *Alexandria*, *Bagdád*, or *Marágbah*, and still more improbable that they should have relapsed without apparent cause into error, we may suppose, that they formed their divine age by an arbitrary multiplication of 24,000 by 180 according to M. LE GENTIL, or of 21600 by 200 according to the comment

## ON THE CHRONOLOGY

on the *Surya Siddhānta*. Now, as it is *hardly* possible, that such coincidences should be *accidental*, we may hold it *nearly* demonstrated, that the period of a *divine age* was at first merely astronomical, and may consequently reject it from our present inquiry into the historical or civil chronology of *India*. Let us, however, proceed to the avowed opinions of the *Hindus*, and see, when we have ascertained their system, whether we can reconcile it to the course of nature and the common sense of mankind.

The aggregate of their four ages they call a *divine age*, and believe that, in every thousand such ages, or in every *day* of *BRAHMA'*, *fourteen*  *MENU's* are successively invested by him with the sovereignty of the earth: each  *MENU*, they suppose, transmits his empire to his sons and grand sons during a period of *seventy-one* *divine ages*; and such a period they name a *Manwantara*; but, since *fourteen* multiplied by *seventy-one* are not quite a *thousand*, we must conclude, that *six divine ages* are allowed for intervals between the *Manwantara's*, or for the twilight of *BRAHMA'* day. Thirty such days, or *Calpas*, constitute, in their opinion, a *month* of *BRAHMA'*; twelve such months, one of his *years*; and an hundred such years, his *age*; of which age they assert, that fifty years have elapsed. We are now then, according to the

## OF THE HINDUS.

*Hindus*, in the first day or *Calpa* of the first month of the fifty-first year of BRAHMA's age, and in the twenty-eighth divine age of the seventh *Manwantara*, of which divine age the *three first* human ages have passed, and *four thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight* of the *fourth*.

In the present day of BRAHMA', the first MENU was furredamed SWA'YAMBHUVA, or *Son of the Self-existent*: and it is He, by whom the *Institutes of Religious and Civil Duties* are supposed to have been delivered: in his time the Deity descended at a *Sacrifice*, and, by his wife SATARU'PA', he had two distinguished sons, and three daughters. This pair was created, for the multiplication of the human species, after that new creation of the world, which the *Brāhmans* call *Pádmacalpiya*, or the *Lotos-creation*.

If it were worth while to calculate the age of MENU's Institutes, according to the *Brāhmans*, we must multiply four million three hundred and twenty thousand by six times seventy-one, and add to the product the number of years already past in the seventh *Manwantara*. Of the five MENU's, who succeeded him, I have seen little more than the names; but the *Hindu* writings are very diffuse on the life and posterity of the *seventh* MENU, furredamed VAIVASWATA, or *Child of the Sun*: he is supposed to have had ten sons, of whom the eldest was ICSHWA'CU;

and to have been accompanied by seven *Rishi's*, or holy persons, whose names were, CASYAPA, ATRI, VASISHTHA, VISWAMITRA, GAUTAMA, JAMADAGNI, and BHARADWAJA; an account, which explains the opening of the fourth chapter of the *Gita*: “ This immutable system of devotion, says CRISHNA, I revealed to VIVASWAT, or the Sun; VIVASWAT declared it to his son MENU; MENU explained it to ICSHWA'CU: thus the Chief *Rishi's* know this sublime doctrine delivered from one to another.”

In the reign of this *Sun-born* Monarch the *Hindus* believe the whole earth to have been drowned, and the whole human race destroyed by a flood, except the pious Prince himself, the seven *Rishi's*, and their several wives; for they suppose his children to have been born after the deluge. This general *pralaya*, or destruction, is the subject of the first *Purána*, or *Sacred Poem*, which consists of fourteen thousand Stanzas; and the story is concisely, but clearly and elegantly, told in the eighth book of the *Bhágavata*, from which I have extracted the whole, and translated it with great care, but will only present you here with an abridgement of it. “ The demon HAYAGRI'VA having purloined the *Védas* from the custody of BRAHMA, while he was reposing at the close of the

" Sixth *Manwantara*, the whole race of men  
 " became corrupt, except the seven *Rishi's*, and  
 " SATYAVRATA, who then reigned in *Dravi-*  
 " *ra*, a maritime region to the south of *Car-*  
 " *nāta*: this prince was performing his ablutions  
 " in the river *Critamāla*, when VISHNU ap-  
 " peared to him in the shape of a small fish,  
 " and, after several augmentations of bulk in  
 " different waters, was placed by SATYAVRATA  
 " in the ocean, where he thus addressed his  
 " amazed votary: ' In *seven* days all creatures  
 ' who have offended me shall be destroyed by  
 ' a deluge, but thou shalt be secured in a capa-  
 ' cious vessel miraculously formed: take there-  
 ' fore all kinds of medicinal herbs and esculent  
 ' grain for food, and, together with the seven  
 ' holy men, your respective wives, and pairs of  
 ' all animals, enter the ark without fear; then  
 ' shalt thou know God face to face, and all thy  
 ' questions shall be answered.' Saying this, he  
 disappeared; and, after seven days, the ocean  
 " began to overflow the coasts, and the earth to  
 " be flooded by constant showers, when SATY-  
 " AVRATA, meditating on the Deity, saw a  
 " large vessel moving on the waters: he entered  
 " it, having in all respects conformed to the in-  
 " structions of VISHNU; who, in the form of a  
 " vast fish, suffered the vessel to be tied with  
 " a great sea serpent, as with a cable, to his mea-

"sureless horn. When the deluge had ceased,  
 "VISHNU slew the demon, and recovered the  
 "Véda's, instructed SATYAVRATA in divine  
 "knowledge, and appointed him the seventh  
 "MENU, by the name of VAIVASWATA."

Let us compare the two *Indian* accounts of the *Creation* and the *Deluge* with those delivered by MOSES. It is not made a question in this tract, whether the first chapters of *Genesis* are to be understood in a literal, or merely in an allegorical, sense: the only points before us are, whether the creation described by the *first* MENU, which the *Bráhmans* call that of the *Lotos*, be not the same with that recorded in our Scripture, and whether the story of the *seventh* MENU be not one and the same with that of NOAH. I propose the questions, but affirm nothing; leaving others to settle their opinions, whether ADAM be derived from *ádim*, which in *Sanskrit* means the *first*, or MENU from NUH, the true name of the Patriarch; whether the *Sacrifice*, at which GOD is believed to have descended, allude to the offering of ABEL; and, on the whole, whether the two MENU's can mean any other persons than the great progenitor, and the restorer, of our species.

On a supposition, that VAIVASWATA, or *Sun-born*, was the NOAH of Scripture, let us proceed to the *Indian* account of his posterity,

which I extract from the *Puránárt'haprecás'a*, or *The Purána's Explained*, a work lately composed in Sanscrit by RA'DHA'CA'NTA SAR-MAN, a *Pandit* of extensive learning and great fame among the *Hindus* of this province. Before we examine the genealogies of kings, which he has collected from the *Purána's*, it will be necessary to give a general idea of the *Avatára's*, or *Descents*, of the Deity : the *Hindus* believe innumerable such descents or special interpositions of providence in the affairs of mankind ; but they reckon *ten* principal *Avatára's* in the current period of four ages; and all of them are described, in order as they are supposed to occur, in the following Ode of JAYADE'VA, the great Lyrick Poet of *India*.

1. " Thou recoverest the *Véda* in the water  
 " of the ocean of destruction, *placing it* joy-  
 " fully in the bosom of an ark fabricated *by*  
 " *thee*; O CE'SAVA, assuming the body of a  
 " *fish*: be victorious, O HERI, lord of the  
 " Universe!

2. " The earth stands firm on thy im-  
 " mensely broad back, which grows larger from  
 " the callus occasioned by bearing that vast bur-  
 " den, O CE'SAVA, assuming the body of a  
 " *tortoise*: be victorious, O HERI, lord of the  
 " Universe!

3. " The earth, placed on the point of thy

“ tusk, remains fixed like the figure of a black  
 “ antelope on the moon, O CE'SAVA, assuming,  
 “ the form of a *boar*: be victorious, O HERI,  
 “ lord of the Universe!”

4. The claw with a stupendous point, on the exquisite lotos of thy lion's paw, is the black bee, that stung the body of the embowelled HIRANYACASIPU, O CE'SAVA, assuming the form of a *man-lion*: be victorious, O HERI, lord of the Universe!

5. By thy power thou beguilest BALI, O thou miraculous dwarf, thou purifier of men with the water (of *Gangà*) springing from thy feet, O CE'SAVA, assuming the form of a *dwarf*: be victorious, O HERI, lord of the Universe!

6. Thou bathest in pure water, consisting of the blood of *Cshatriya*'s, the world, whose offences are removed and who are relieved from the pain of other births, O CE'SAVA, assuming the form of PARAS'U-RA'MA: be victorious, O HERI, lord of the Universe!

7. With ease to thyself, with delight to the Genii of the eight regions, thou scatterest on all sides in the plain of combat the demon with ten heads, O CE'SAVA, assuming the form of RA'MA-CHANDRA: be victorious, O HERI, lord of the Universe!

8. Thou wearest on thy bright body a mantle shining like a blue cloud, or like the water of

*Yamunà* tripping toward thee through fear of thy furrowing plough share, O CE'SAVA, assuming the form of BALA-RA'MA: be victorious, O HERI, lord of the Universe!

9. Thou blamest (oh, wonderful!) the whole *Véda*, when thou seest, O kind-hearted, the slaughter of cattle prescribed for sacrifice, O CE'SAVA, assuming the body of BUDDHA: be victorious, O HERI, lord of the Universe!

10. For the destruction of all the impure thou drawest thy cimeter like a blazing comet (how tremendous!) O CE'SAVA, assuming the body of CALCI: be victorious, O HERI, lord of the Universe!

These ten *Avatára's* are by some arranged according to the thousands of divine years in each of the four ages, or in an arithmetical proportion from four to one; and, if such an arrangement were universally received, we should be able to ascertain a very material point in the *Hindu Chronology*; I mean the birth of BUDDHA, concerning which the different *Pandits*, whom I have consulted, and the same *Pandits* at different times, have expressed a strange diversity of opinion. They all agree, that CALCI is yet to come, and that BUDDHA was the last considerable incarnation of the Deity; but the astronomers at *Varánes* place him in the third age, and RADHACÁNT insists, that he ap-

" years, the first two or three thousand may reasonably be called *the beginning*." On my demanding written evidence, he produced a book of some authority, composed by a learned *Góswámi*, and entitled *Bhágawatámrita*, or, the *Nectar* of the *Bhágawat*, on which it is a metrical comment; and the couplet which he read from it deserves to be cited: after the just mentioned account of BUDDHA in the text, the commentator says,

*Asau vyac̄tab calerabdaśahasradwitaጀe gate,  
Mūrtih pāt' alavernā'śya dwibbujjā chicurojjhitā.*

' He became visible, the-thousand-and-second-year-of-the-Cali-age, being past; his body of-a-colour-between-white-and-ruddy, with-two-arms, without-hair on his head.'

*Cicat'a*, named in the text as the birth place of BUDDHA, the *Góswámi* supposes to have been *Dhermáranya*, a wood near *Gayà*, where a colossal image of that ancient Deity still remains: it seemed to me of black stone; but, as I saw it by torch-light, I cannot be positive as to its colour, which may, indeed, have been changed by time.

The *Bráhmans* universally speak of the *Baud-dhas* with all the malignity of an intolerant spirit; yet the most orthodox among them consider BUDDHA himself as an incarnation of

VISHNU: this is a contradiction hard to be reconciled; unless we cut the knot, instead of untying it, by supposing with GIORGI, that there were *two* BUDDHAS, the younger of whom established the new religion, which gave so great offence in *India*, and was introduced into *China* in the first century of our era. The *Cashmirian* before mentioned asserted this fact, without being led to it by any question that implied it; and we may have reason to suppose, that *Buddha* is in truth only a general word for a *Philosopher*: the author of a celebrated *Sanskrit* Dictionary, entitled from his name *Amaracōsha*, who was himself a *Bauddha*, and flourished in the first century before CHRIST, begins his vocabulary with nine words, that signify *heaven*, and proceeds to those, which mean *a deity in general*; after which come different *classes* of *Gods*, *Demigods*, and *Demons*, all by *generick* names; and they are followed by two very remarkable heads; first, (not the *general names* of BUDDHA, but) the names of a *Buddha-in-general*, of which he gives us eighteen, such as *Muni*, *Sāstri*, *Munindra*, *Vināyaca*, *Samantabhadra*, *Dhermarāja*, *Sugata*, and the like; most of them significative of *excellence*, *wisdom*, *virtue*, and *sanctity*; secondly, the names of a-particular-Buddha-Muni-who-descended-in-the-family-of-SACYA (those are the very words of the original), and his ti-

tles are, *Sácyamuni*, *Sácyafinba*, *Servárt'basiddha*, *Saudbódani*, *Gautama*, *Arcabandbu*, or *Kinsman of the Sun*, and *Máyádévíṣuta*, or *Child of MÁYÁ'*: thence the author passes to the different epithets of particular *Hindu* Deities. When I pointed out this curious passage to RA'DHA'CA'NT, he contended, that the first eighteen names were *general* epithets, and the following seven, *proper names*, or *patronymicks*, of one and the same person; but RA'MALO'CHAN, my own teacher, who, though not a *Bráhman*, is an excellent scholar and a very sensible unprejudiced man, assured me, that *Buddha* was a *generick* word, like *Déva*, and that the learned author, having exhibited the names of a *Dévatà* in general, proceeded to those of a *Buddha* in general, before he came to particulars: he added, that *Buddha* might mean a *Sage* or a *Philosopher*, though *Budba* was the word commonly used for a mere *wise man* without supernatural powers. It seems highly probable, on the whole, that the BUDDHA, whom JAYADE'VA celebrates in his Hymn, was the *Sácyafinba*, or *Lion of SA'CYA*, who, though he forbade the sacrifices of cattle, which the *Véda's* enjoin, was believed to be VISHNU himself in a human form, and that another *Buddha*, one perhaps of his followers in a later age, assuming his name and character, attempted to overset the whole

system of the *Bráhmans*, and was the cause of that persecution, from which the *Bauddhas* are known to have fled into very distant regions. May we not reconcile the singular difference of opinion among the *Hindus* as to the time of BUDDHA's appearance, by supposing that they have confounded the *Two Buddha's*, the first of whom was born a few years before the close of the last age, and the second, when above a thousand years of the present age had elapsed? We know, from better authorities, and with as much certainty as can justly be expected on so doubtful a subject, the real time, compared with our own era, when the ancient BUDDHA began to distinguish himself; and it is for this reason principally, that I have dwelled with minute anxiety on the subject of the last *Avatar*.

The *Bráhmans*, who assisted ABU'LEFAZL in his curious, but superficial, account of his master's Empire, informed him, if the figures in the *Ayini Acbari* be correctly written, that a period of 2962 years had elapsed from the birth of BUDDHA to the 40th year of ACBAR's reign, which computation will place his birth in the 1366th year before that of our Saviour; but, when the *Chinese* government admitted a new religion from *India* in the first century of our era, they made particular inquiries concerning the age of the old *Indian Buddha*, whose birth,

according to COUPLET, they place in the 41st year of their 28th cycle, or 1036 years before CHRIST, and they call him, says he, FOE the son of MOYE or MAYA; but M. DE GUIGNES, on the authority of four *Chinese* Historians, asserts, that FO was born about the year before CHRIST 1027, in the kingdom of *Cashmir*: GIORGI, or rather CASSIANO, from whose papers his work was compiled, assures us, that, by the calculation of the *Tibetians*, he appeared only 959 years before the *Christian* epoch; and M. BAILLY, with some hesitation, places him 1031 years before it, but inclines to think him far more ancient, confounding him, as I have done in a former tract, with the *first* BUDHA, or MERCURY, whom the *Goths* called WODEN, and of whom I shall presently take particular notice. Now, whether we assume the medium of the four last-mentioned dates, or implicitly rely on the authorities quoted by DE GUIGNES, we may conclude, that BUDDHA was first distinguished in this country *about a thousand* years before the beginning of our era; and whoever, in so early an age, expects a certain epoch unqualified with *about* or *nearly*, will be greatly disappointed. Hence it is clear, that, whether the fourth age of the *Hindus* began *about one thousand years before CHRIST*, accord-

ing to GOVERDHAN's account of BUDDHA's birth, or *two thousand*, according to that of RA'DHAC'A'NT, the common opinion, that 4888 years of it are now elapsed, is erroneous ; and here for the present we leave BUDDHA, with an intention of returning to him in due time ; observing only, that, if the learned *Indians* differ so widely in their accounts of the age, when their ninth *Avatar* appeared in their country, we may be assured, that they have no certain Chronology before him, and may suspect the certainty of all the relations concerning even his appearance.

The received Chronology of the *Hindus* begins with an absurdity so monstrous, as to overthrow the whole system ; for, having established their period of *seventy-one divine ages* as the reign of each *Menu*, yet thinking it incongruous to place a holy personage in times of *impurity*, they insist, that the *Menu* reigns only in every *golden age*, and disappears in the *three human ages* that follow it, continuing to dive and emerge, like a waterfowl, till the close of his *Manwantara* : the learned author of the *Puránárt'hapracáśa*, which I will now follow step by step, mentioned this ridiculous opinion with a serious face ; but, as he has not inserted it in his work, we may

take his account of the seventh *Menu* according to its obvious and rational meaning, and suppose, that VAIVASWATA, the son of SU'RYA, the son of CASYAPA, or *Uranus*, the son of MARI'CHI, or *Light*: the son of BRAHMA', which is clearly an allegorical pedigree, reigned in the last golden age, or, according to the *Hindus*, three million eight hundred and ninety-two thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight years ago. But they contend, that he actually reigned on earth *one million seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand* years of mortals, or *four thousand eight hundred* years of the Gods; and this opinion is another monster so repugnant to the course of nature and to human reason, that it must be rejected as wholly fabulous, and taken as a proof that the *Indians* know nothing of their *Sun-born MENU*, but his name and the principal event of his life; I mean the *universal deluge*, of which the *three first Avatar's* are merely allegorical representations, with a mixture, especially in the *second*, of astronomical Mythology.

From this MENU the whole race of men is believed to have descended; for the seven *Rishi's*, who were preserved with him in the ark, are not mentioned as fathers of human families;

but, since his daughter ILA' was married, as the *Indians* tell us, to the first BUDHA, or *Mercury*, the son of CHANDRA, or the *Moon*, a male Deity, whose father was ATRI, son of BRAHMA' (where again we meet with an allegory purely astronomical or poetical), his posterity are divided into two great branches, called the *Children of the Sun* from his own supposed father, and the *Children of the Moon*, from the parent of his daughter's husband: the lineal male descendants in both these families are supposed to have reigned in the cities of *Ayódhyà*, or *Audh*, and *Pratiṣṭ'hána*, or *Vítóra*, respectively till the *thousandth year of the present age*, and the names of all the princes in both lines having been diligently collected by RA'DHA'CA'NT from several *Purána's*, I exhibit them in two columns arranged by myself with great attention.

### SECOND AGE.

#### CHILDREN OF THE

SUN.	MOON,
Icshwa'cu,	BUDHA,
<i>Vicuchi,</i>	<i>Pururavas,</i>
Cucutst'ha,	Ayush,
Anénas,	Nahusha,

## CHILDREN OF THE

	SUN.	MOON.	
5.	<i>Priṭ'bu,</i> Vis'wagandhi, Chandra, Yuvanás'wa, Sráva,	<i>Yayáti,</i> <i>Puru,</i> Janaméjaya, Prachinwat, Pravíra,	5.
10.	Vrihadas'wa, Dhundhumára, Dríd'hás'wa, Heryas'wa, Nicumbha,	Menafyu, Chárupada, Sudyu, Bahugava, Sanyáti,	10.
15.	Crísás'wa, Sénajit, Yuvanás'wa, Màndhátri, Purucutsa,	Ahanyáti, Raudrás'wa, Rítéyush, Rantináva, Sumati,	15.
20.	Trafadasfyu, Anaranya, Heryas'wa, Praruna, Trivindhana,	Aiti, <i>Dusbmanta,</i> <i>Bharata,*</i> (Vitat'ha, Manyu,	20.
25.	Satyavrata, Tris'ancu, Haris'chandra, Róhita, Harita,	Vrīhatcshétra, Haftin, Ajamid'ha, Ricsha, Samwarana,	25.
30.	Champa,	<i>Curu,</i>	30.

## CHILDREN OF THE

	SUN.	MOON.
	<i>Sudéva,</i>	<i>Jahnu,</i>
	<i>Vijaya,</i>	<i>Surat'ha,</i>
	<i>Bharuca,</i>	<i>Vidúrat'ha,</i>
	<i>Vr̥ica,</i>	<i>Sárvabhauma,</i>
35.	<i>Báhuca,</i>	<i>Jayatséna,</i>
	<i>Sagara,</i>	<i>Rádhica,</i>
	<i>Afamanjas,</i>	<i>Ayutáyush,</i>
	<i>Anśumat,</i>	<i>Acródhana,</i>
	<i>Bbagírat'ba,</i>	<i>Dévátit'hi,</i>
40.	<i>Sruta,</i>	<i>R̥icsha,</i>
	<i>Nábha,</i>	<i>Dilípa,</i>
	<i>Sindhudwípa,</i>	<i>Pratípa,</i>
	<i>Ayutáyush,</i>	<i>Sántanu,</i>
	<i>R̥itaperна,</i>	<i>Vichitravírya,</i>
45.	<i>Saudása,</i>	<i>Pándu,</i>
	<i>As'maca,</i>	<i>Yudhísh्वir).</i>
	<i>Múlaca,</i>	
	<i>Das'arat'ha,</i>	
	<i>Aíd'abid'i,</i>	
50.	<i>Vis'wafaha,</i>	
	<i>C'hat wánga,</i>	
	<i>Dírghabáhu,</i>	
	<i>Raghu,</i>	
	<i>Aja,</i>	
55.	<i>Das'arat'ha,</i>	
	<b>RA'MA.</b>	

35.

40.

45.

It is agreed among all the *Pandits*, that RĀ'MA, their *seventh* incarnate Divinity, appeared as king of *Ayóddyà* in the *interval* between the *silver* and the *brazen* ages; and if we suppose him to have begun his reign at the very beginning of that interval, still *three thousand three hundred* years of the Gods, or *a million one hundred and eighty-eight thousand* lunar years of mortals will remain in the *silver* age, during which the *fifty-five* princes between VĀIVASWATA and RĀ'MA must have governed the world; but, reckoning *thirty* years for a generation, which is rather too much for a long succession of *eldest* sons, as they are said to have been, we cannot, by the course of nature, extend the *second* age of the *Hindus* beyond *sixteen hundred and fifty* solar years: if we suppose them not to have been eldest sons, and even to have lived longer than modern princes in a dissolute age, we shall find only a period of *two thousand* years; and, if we remove the difficulty by admitting miracles, we must cease to reason, and may as well believe at once whatever the *Brāhmans* chuse to tell us.

In the *Lunar* pedigree we meet with another absurdity equally fatal to the credit of the *Hindu* system: as far as the twenty-second degree of descent from VĀIVASWATA, the syn-

chronism of the two families appears tolerably regular, except that the Children of the Moon were not all *eldest* sons; for king YAYA'TI appointed the youngest of his five sons to succeed him in *India*, and allotted inferior kingdoms to the other four, who had offended him; part of the *Dacshin* or the *South*, to YADU, the ancestor of CRISHNA; the north, to ANU; the east to DRUHYA; and the west, to TURVASU, from whom the *Pandits* believe, or pretend to believe, in compliment to our nation, that we are descended. But of the subsequent degrees in the lunar line they know so little, that, unable to supply a considerable interval between BHARAT and VITAT'HA, whom they call his son and successor, they are under a necessity of asserting, that the great ancestor of YUDHISHT'HIR actually reigned *seven and twenty thousand years*; a fable of the same class with that of his wonderful birth, which is the subject of a beautiful *Indian* Drama: now, if we suppose his life to have lasted no longer than that of other mortals, and admit VITAT'HA and the rest to have been his regular successors, we shall fall into another absurdity; for then, if the generations in both lines were nearly equal, as they would naturally have been, we shall find YUDHISHT'HIR, who reigned confessedly at the close

of the *brazzen* age, nine generations older than RA'MA, before whose birth the *silver* age is allowed to have ended. After the name of BHARAT, therefore, I have set an asterisk to denote a considerable chasm in the *Indian* History, and have inserted between brackets, as out of their places, his *twenty-four* successors, who reigned, if at all, in the following age immediately before the war of the *Mahábbárat*. The fourth *Avatár*, which is placed in the interval between the *first* and *second* ages, and the *fifth* which soon followed it, appear to be moral fables grounded on historical facts: the *fourth* was the punishment of an impious monarch by the Deity himself *bursting from a marble Column* in the shape of a *lion*; and the *fifth* was the humiliation of an arrogant Prince by so contemptible an agent as a mendicant *dwarf*. After these, and immediately before BUDDHA, come three great warriours all named RA'MA; but it may justly be made a question, whether they are not three representations of one person, or three different ways of relating the same History: the first and second RA'MAS are said to have been contemporary; but whether all or any of them mean RAMA, the son of CUSH, I leave others to determine. The mother of the second RAMA was named

CAU'SHALYA', which is a derivative of CUSH-ALA, and, though his father be distinguished by the title or epithet of DA'SARAT'HA, signifying, that *his War-chariot bore him to all quarters of the world*, yet the name of CUSH, as the Cáshmírians pronounce it, is preserved entire in that of his son and successor, and shadowed in that of his ancestor VICUCSHI; nor can a just objection be made to this opinion from the nasal *Arabian* vowel in the word *Rámah* mentioned by MOSES, since the very word *Arab* begins with the same letter, which the *Greeks* and *Indians* could not pronounce; and they were obliged, therefore, to express it by the vowel, which most resembled it. On this question, however, I assert nothing; nor on another, which might be proposed: "whether the *fourth* and *fifth Avatàrs* be "not allegorical stories of the two presumptuous monarchs, NIMROD and BELUS." The hypothesis, that *government* was first established, *laws* enacted, and *agriculture* encouraged in *India* by RAMA about *three thousand eight hundred years ago*, agrees with the received account of NOAH's death, and the previous settlement of his immediate descendants.

## THIRD AGE.

CHILDREN OF THE

SUN.

MOON.

<i>Cus'ha,</i>		
<i>Atit'hi,</i>		
<i>Niśhadba,</i>		
<i>Nabhas,</i>		
5. <i>Pund'aríca,</i>		
<i>Cshémadhanwas,</i>	<i>Vitat'ha,</i>	
<i>Dévánica,</i>	<i>Manyu,</i>	
<i>Ahín'agu,</i>	<i>Vr̥ihatcshétra,</i>	
<i>Páripátra,</i>	<i>Hastin,</i>	
10. <i>Ranach'hala,</i>	<i>Ajamíd'ha,</i>	5.
<i>Vajranábha,</i>	<i>R̥icsha,</i>	
<i>Arca,</i>	<i>Samwarana,</i>	
<i>Sugana,</i>	<i>Curu,</i>	
<i>Vidhr̥iti,</i>	<i>Žabnu,</i>	
15. <i>Hiranyanábha,</i>	<i>Surat'ha,</i>	10.
<i>Pushya,</i>	<i>Vidúrat'ha,</i>	
<i>Dhruvasandhi,</i>	<i>Sárvakhauma,</i>	
<i>Suders'ana,</i>	<i>Jayatséna,</i>	
<i>Agniverna,</i>	<i>Rádhica,</i>	
20. <i>Síghra,</i>	<i>Ayutáyush,</i>	15.
<i>Maru,</i> supposed to be still alive.	<i>Acródhana,</i>	
<i>Prafus ruta,</i>	<i>Dévatit'hi,</i>	
<i>Sandhi,</i>	<i>Ricsha,</i>	
<i>Amers ana,</i>	<i>Dilípa,</i>	
25. <i>Mahafwat,</i>	<i>Pratípa,</i>	20.

CHILDREN OF THE	
SUN.	MOON.
Vis'wabháhu,	Sántanu,
Prafénajit,	Vichitravírya,
Tacshaca,	Pándu,
Vribhadbala,	Yudhisht'bira,
30. Vrihadran'a, Y. B.	Parícsbit.
C. 3100.	25.

Here we have only *nine and twenty* princes of the solar line between RA'MA and VRIHADRNA exclusively ; and their reigns, during the whole *brazzen* age, are supposed to have lasted near *eight hundred and sixty-four thousand* years, a supposition evidently against nature ; the uniform course of which allows only a period of *eight hundred and seventy*, or, at the very utmost, of *a thousand*, years for *twenty-nine* generations. PARÍCSHIT, the great nephew and successor of YUDHISHT'HIR, who had recovered the throne from DURYODHAN, is allowed without controversy to have reigned in the interval between the *brazzen* and *earthen* ages, and to have died at the setting in of the *Caliyug*; so that, if the *Pandits* of *Cashmīr* and *Varánes* have made a right calculation of BUDDHA's appearance, the present, or *fourth*, age must have begun about *a thousand* years before the birth of CHRIST, and consequently the reign of ICSHWA'CU, could not have been earlier than *four thousand* years before that great epoch; and even that date

will, perhaps, appear, when it shall be strictly examined, to be near *two thousand* years earlier than the truth. I cannot leave the third *Indian* age, in which the virtues and vices of mankind are said to have been equal, without observing, that even the close of it is manifestly fabulous and poetical, with hardly more *appearance* of historical truth, than the tale of *Troy* or of the *Argonauts*; for YUDHISHT'HIR, it seems, was the son of DHERMA, the *Genius of Justice*; BHÍ'MA of PAVAN, or the *God of Wind*; ARJUN of INDRA, or the *Firmament*; NACUL and SAHADE'VA, of the two CUMA'RS, the CASTOR and POLLUX of *India*; and BHÍ'SHMA, their reputed great uncle, was the child of GANGÁ', or the GANGES, by SA'NTANU, whose brother DE'VA'PI is supposed to be still alive in the city of *Calápa*; all which fictions may be charming embellishments of an heroick poem, but are just as absurd in civil History, as the descent of two royal families from the Sun and the Moon.

## FOURTH AGE.

## CHILDREN OF THE

## SUN.

Urucriya,  
Vatsavriddha,  
Prativyóma,  
Bhánu,

## MOON.

Janaméjaya,  
Satánica,  
Sahafránica,  
As'wamédhaja,

	CHILDREN OF THE	
	SUN.	MOON.
5.	Déváca,	Asímacrīshna, 5.
	Sahadéva,	Némichacra,
	Víra,	Upta,
	Vrīhadas'wa,	Chitrarat'ha,
	Bhánumat,	Suchirat'ha,
10.	Pratícás'wa,	Dhrítimat, 10.
	Supratíca,	Sufhéna,
	Marudéva,	Sunít'ha,
	Sunacshatra,	Nrīchacshuh,
	Pushcara,	Suc'hinala,
15.	Antaríchha,	Pariplava, 15.
	Sutapas,	Sunaya,
	Amitrajit,	Médhávin,
	Vrīhadrája,	Nrīpanjaya,
	Barhi,	Derva,
20.	Crītanjaya,	Timi, 20.
	Ran'anjaya,	Vrīhadrat'ha,
	Sanjaya,	Sudása,
	Slócyā,	Satánica,
	Suddhóda,	Durmadana,
25.	Lángalada,	Rahínara, 25.
	Prafénajit,	Dand'apání,
	Cshudraca,	Nimi,
	Sumitra, Y. B. C.	Cshémaca.
	2100.	

In both families, we see, *thirty* generations are reckoned from YUDHISHTHIR and from

**VRIHADBALA** his contemporary (who was killed, in the war of *Bhárat*, by *ABHIMANYU*, son of *ARJUN* and father of *PARI'CSHIT*), to the time, when the *Solar* and *Lunar* dynasties are believed to have become extinct in the present divine age; and for these generations the *Hindus* allot a period of *one thousand* years only, or *a hundred* years for *three* generations; which calculation, though probably too large, is yet moderate enough, compared with their absurd accounts of the preceding ages: but they reckon exactly the same number of years for *twenty* generations only in the family of *JARA'SANDHA*, whose son was contemporary with *YUDHIST'HIR*, and founded a new dynasty of princes in *Magadha*, or *Bahàr*; and this exact coincidence of the time, in which the three races are supposed to have been extinct, has the appearance of an artificial chronology, formed rather from imagination than from historical evidence; especially as twenty kings, in an age comparatively modern, could not have reigned a thousand years. I, nevertheless, exhibit the list of them as a curiosity; but am far from being convinced, that all of them ever existed: that, if they did exist, they could not have reigned more than *seven hundred* years, I am fully persuaded by the course of nature and the concurrent opinion of mankind.

## KINGS OF MAGADHA.

Sahadéva,	Suchi,
Márjári,	Cihéma,
Srutasravas,	Suvrata,
Ayutáyush,	Dhermasútra,
5. Niramitra,	Srama, 15.
Sunacshatra,	Dríd'haféna,
Vrihetféna,	Sumati,
Carmajit,	Subala,
Srutanjaya,	Suníta,
10. Vipra,	Satyajit, 20.

PURANJAYA, son of the twentieth king, was put to death by his minister SUNACA, who placed his own son PRADYO'TA on the throne of his master; and this revolution constitutes an epoch of the highest importance in our present inquiry; first, because it happened according to the *Bhágawatámrita*, two years exactly before BUDDHA's appearance in the same kingdom; next, because it is believed by the *Hindus* to have taken place *three thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight* years ago, or *two thousand one hundred* years before CHRIST; and, lastly, because a regular chronology, according to the number of years in each dynasty, has been established from the accession of PRADYO'TA to the subversion of the genuine *Hindu* government; and that chronology I will now lay be-

fore you, after observing only, that RA'DHA'-CA'NT himself says nothing of BUDDHA in this part of his work, though he particularly mentions the two preceding *Avatára's* in their proper places.

## KINGS OF MAGADHA.

Y.B.C.

Pradyóta, . . . . .	2100
Pálaca,	
Vis'ac'hayúpa,	
Rájaca,	
Nandiverdhana, 5 reigns = 138 years,	
Sis'unága, . . . . .	1962
Cácaverna,	
Cshémadherman,	
Cshétrajnya,	
Vidhisára, 5.	
Ajátasatru,	
Darbhaca,	
Ajaya,	
Nandiverdhana,	
Mahánandi, 10 r = 360 y.	
<b>NANDA, . . . . .</b>	<b>1602</b>

This prince, of whom frequent mention is made in the *Sanskrit* books, is said to have been

murdered, after a reign of *a hundred years*, by a very learned and ingenious, but passionate and vindictive, *Bráhman*, whose name was CHA'NA-CYĀ, and who raised to the throne a man of the *Maurya* race, named CHANDRAGUPTA: by the death of NANDA, and his sons, the *Cshatriya* family of PRADYO'TA became extinct.

## MAURYA KINGS.

Y. B. C.

Chandragupta,	1502
Várisára,	
As'ócaverdhana,	
Suyas'as,	
Des'arat'ha, 5.	
Sangata,	
Sális'úca,	
Sómas'arman,	
Satadhanwas,	
Vrihadrat'ha, 10 r = 137 y.	

On the death of the tenth *Maurya* king, his place was assumed by his Commander in Chief, PUSHPAMITRA, of the *Sunga* nation or family.

## SUNGA KINGS.

Y. B. C.

Pushpamitra,	1365
Agnimitra,	
Sujyésh'tha,	

Vasumitra,  
 Abhadraca, 5.  
 Pulinda,  
 Ghósha,  
 Vajramitra,  
 Bhágavata,  
 Dévabhúti,  $10 r = 112 y.$

The last prince was killed by his minister  
**VASUDE'VA**, of the *Can'n'a* race, who usurped  
 the throne of *Magadha*.

## CANNA KINGS.

Y. B. C.

Vasudéva,	1253
Bhúmitra,	
Náráyana,	
Susarman, $4 r = 345 y.$	

A *Súdra*, of the *Andbra* family, having murdered his master **SUSARMAN**, and seized the government, founded a new dynasty of

## ANDHRA KINGS.

Y. B. C.

Balin,	908
Críshna,	
Srísántacarna,	
Paurnamása,	
Lambódara, 5.	
Vivilaca,	

Méghaswáta,  
 Vat'amána,  
 Talaca,  
 Sivafswáti, 10.  
 Puríshabhéru,  
 Sunandana,  
 Chacóraca,  
 Bat'aca,  
 Gómatin, 15.  
 Purímat,  
 Médas'iras,  
 Sirascand'ha,  
 Yajnyas'rì,  
 Vijaya, 20.  
 Chandrabíja, 21  $r = 456\text{ }y.$

After the death of CHANDRABI'JA, which happened, according to the *Hindus*, 396 years before VICRAMA'DITYA, or 452 B. C. we hear no more of *Magadha* as an independent kingdom; but RA'DHA'CA'NT has exhibited the names of *seven* dynasties, in which *seventy-six* princes are said to have reigned *one thousand three hundred and ninety-nine* years in *Avabhr̥iti*, a town of the *Dac̥hin*, or *South*, which we commonly call *Decan*: the names of the seven dynasties, or of the families who established them, are *Abhira*, *Gardabbin*, *Canca*, *Yavana*, *Turuṣcara*, *Bburunda*, *Maula*; of which the *Yavana's*

are by some, not generally, supposed to have been *Ionians*, or *Greeks*, but the *Turuſhcaras* and *Maula's* are universally believed to have been *Turcs* and *Moguls*; yet RA'DHA'CANT adds: "when the *Maula* race was extinct, five princes, " named *Bhūnanda*, *Bangira*, *Sis'unandi*, *Yas'ō-nandi*, and *Pravīraca*, reigned an hundred and " six years (or till the year 1053) in the city of " *Cilacilà*," which, he tells me, he understands to be in the country of the *Maháráshtra's*, or *Mahráta's*; and here ends his *Indian Chronology*; for "after PRAVI'RACA, says he, this " empire was divided among *Mléch'bas*, or Infi- " dels." This account of the *seven modern dynasties* appears very doubtful in itself, and has no relation to our present inquiry; for their dominion seems confined to the *Decan*, without extending to *Magadha*; nor have we any reason to believe, that a race of *Grecian* princes ever established a kingdom in either of those countries: as to the *Moguls*, their dynasty still subsists, at least nominally; unless that of *Chengiz* be meant, and his successors could not have reigned in any part of *India* for the period of *three hundred* years, which is assigned to the *Maulas*; nor is it probable, that the word *Turc*, which an *Indian* could have easily pronounced and clearly expressed in the *Nágari* letters, should have been corrupted into *Turuſhcara*.

On the whole we may safely close the most authentick system of *Hindu* Chronology, that I have yet been able to procure, with the death of **CHANDRABIJA**. Should any farther information be attainable, we shall, perhaps, in due time attain it either from books or inscriptions in the *Sanscrit* language; but from the materials, with which we are at present supplied, we may establish as indubitable the two following propositions; that the *three first* ages of the *Hindus* are chiefly *mythological*, whether their mythology was founded on the dark enigmas of their astronomers, or on the heroick fictions of their poets, and, that the *fourth*, or *historical*, age cannot be carried farther back than about two thousand years before **CHRIST**. Even in the history of the present age, the generations of men and the reigns of kings are extended beyond the course of nature, and beyond the average resulting from the accounts of the *Bráhmans* themselves; for they assign to *an hundred and forty-two* modern reigns a period of *three thousand one hundred and fifty-three* years, or about *twenty-two* years to a reign one with another; yet they represent only four *Canna* princes on the throne of *Magadha* for a period of *three hundred and forty-five* years; now it is even more improbable, that four successive kings should have reigned *eighty-six years and four*

months each, than that NANDA should have been king a *hundred* years and murdered at last. Neither account can be credited; but, that we may allow the highest probable antiquity to the *Hindu* government, let us grant, that *three generations* of men were equal on an average to *an hundred* years, and that *Indian* princes have reigned, one with another, *two and twenty*: then reckoning thirty generations from ARJUN, the brother of YUDHISHT'HIRA, to the extinction of his race, and taking the *Chinese* account of BUDDHA's birth from M. DE GUIGNES, as the most authentick medium between ABU'LFAZL and the *Tibetians*, we may arrange the corrected *Hindu* Chronology according to the following table, supplying the word *about* or *nearly*, (since perfect accuracy cannot be attained and ought not to be required), before every date.

## Y. B. C.

Abhimanyu, <i>son of ARJUN,</i>	.	.	2029
Pradyota,	.	.	1029
BUDDHA,	.	.	1027
Nanda,	.	.	699
Balin,	.	.	149
VICRAMADITYA,	.	.	56
DEVAPALA, <i>king of Gaur,</i>	.	.	23

If we take the date of BUDDHA's appearance from ABU'LFAZL, we must place ABHIMANYU

2368 years before CHRIST, unless we calculate from the twenty kings of *Magadha*, and allow *seven hundred* years instead of *a thousand*, between ARJUN and PRADYO'TA, which will bring us again very nearly to the date exhibited in the table; and, perhaps, we can hardly approach nearer to the truth. As to *Rájá Nanda*, if he really sat on the throne a whole century, we must bring down the *Andhra* dynasty to the age of VICRAMA'DITYA, who with his feudatories had probably obtained so much power during the reign of those princes, that they had little more than a nominal sovereignty, which ended with CHANDRABI'JA in the *third* or *fourth* century of the *Christian* era; having, no doubt, been long reduced to insignificance by the kings of *Gaur*, descended from GO'PA-LA. But, if the author of the *Dabistán* be warranted in fixing the birth of BUDDHA *ten* years before the *Caliyug*, we must thus correct the Chronological Table:

	Y. B. C.
BUDDHA, . . . .	1027
Paricshit, . . . .	1017
Pradyót (reckoning 20 or 30 generations), . . . .	317 or 17
	Y. A. C.
Nanda, . . . . .	13 or 313

This correction would oblige us to place VÍCRAṂA'DITYA before NANDA, to whom, as all the *Pandits* agree, he was long posterior; and, if this be an historical fact, it seems to confirm the *Bhágawatámṛita*, which fixes the beginning of the *Caliyug* about *a thousand* years before BUDDHA; besides that BALIN would then be brought down at least to the sixth and CHANDRABI'JA to the tenth century after CHRIST, without leaving room for the subsequent dynasties, if they reigned successively.

Thus have we given a sketch of *Indian History* through the longest period fairly assignable to it, and have traced the foundation of the *Indian empire* above *three thousand eight hundred years* from the present time; but, on a subject in itself so obscure, and so much clouded by the fictions of the *Bráhmans*, who, to aggrandize themselves, have designedly raised their antiquity beyond the truth, we must be satisfied with probable conjecture and just reasoning from the best attainable data; nor can we hope for a system of *Indian Chronology*, to which no objection can be made, unless the Astronomical books in *Sanskrit* shall clearly ascertain the places of the colures in some precise years of the historical age, not by loose traditions, like that of a coarse observation by CHIRON, who

possibly never existed (for “ he lived, says “ NEWTON, in the *golden age*,” which must long have preceded the *Argonautick expedition*), but by such evidence as our astronomers and scholars shall allow to be unexceptionable.

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,

ACCORDING TO

*One of the Hypotheses intimated in the preceding Tract.*

CHRISTIAN and MUSELMAN.	HINDU.	Years from 1788 of our era.
ADAM,	MENU I. Age I.	5794
NOAH,	MENU II.	4737
Dcluge,		4138
Nimrod,	<i>Hiranyacasípu.</i> Age II.	4006
Bel,	<i>Bali,</i>	3892
RAMA,	RAMA. Age III.	3817
Noah's death,		3787
	<i>Pradyótā,</i>	2817
	BUDDHA. Age IV.	2815
	<i>Nanda,</i>	2487
	<i>Balin,</i>	1937
	<i>Vicramáditya,</i>	1844
	<i>Dévapála,</i>	1811
CHRIST,		1787
	<i>Náráyanpála,</i>	1721
	<i>Sacu,</i>	1709
Walid,		1080
Mahmùd,		786
Chengiz,		548
Taimùr,		391
Babur,		276
Nádirsháh,		49

*SUPPLEMENT TO THE ESSAY*

ON

INDIAN CHRONOLOGY.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

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OUR ingenious associate Mr. SAMUEL DAVIS, whom I name with respect and applause, and who will soon, I trust, convince M. BAILLY, that it is very possible, for an *European* to translate and explain the *Súrya Siddhánta*, favoured me lately with a copy, taken by his *Pandit*, of the original passage, mentioned in his paper on the Astronomical Computations of the *Hindus*, concerning the places of the colures in the time of VARA'HA, compared with their position in the age of a certain *Muni*, or ancient Indian philosopher; and the passage appears to afford evidence of two actual observations, which will ascertain the chronology of the *Hindus*, if not by rigorous demonstration, at least by a near approach to it.

The copy of the *Várábhisambitā*, from which

the three pages, received by me, had been transcribed, is unhappily so incorrect (if the transcript itself was not hastily made) that every line of it must be disfigured by some gross error; and my *Pandit*, who examined the passage carefully at his own house, gave it up as inexplicable; so that, if I had not studied the system of *Sanskrit* prosody, I should have laid it aside in despair: but though it was written as prose, without any sort of distinction or punctuation, yet, when I read it aloud, my ear caught in some sentences the cadence of verse, and of a particular metre, called *A'ryā*, which is regulated (not by the *number* of syllables, like other *Indian* measures, but) by the proportion of *times*, or *syllabick moments*, in the four divisions, of which every stanza consists. By numbering those moments and fixing their proportion, I was enabled to restore the text of *VĀRA'HĀ*, with the perfect assent of the learned *Erāhmen*, who attends me; and, with his assistance, I also corrected the comment, written by *BHĀTTO'T-PĀLA*, who, it seems, was a son of the author, together with three curious passages, which are cited in it. Another *Pandit* afterwards brought me a copy of the whole original work, which confirmed my conjectural emendations, except in two immaterial syllables, and except, that the first of the six couplets in the text is quoted in

the commentary from a different work entitled *Panchasiddhánticà*: five of them were composed by VARA'HA himself, and the third chapter of his treatise begins with them.

Before I produce the original verses, it may be useful to give you an idea of the *A'ryà* measure, which will appear more distinctly in *Latin* than in any modern language of *Europe*:

Tigridas, apros, thoas, tyrannos, pessima monstra, venemur:  
Dic hinnulus, dic lepus male quid egerint graminivori.

The couplet might be so arranged, as to begin and end with the cadence of an hexameter and pentameter, six *moments* being interposed in the middle of the long, and seven in that of the short, hemistich:

Thoas, apros, tigridas nos *venemur*, pejoresque tyrannos:  
Dic tibi cerva, lepus *tibi dic male quid egerit* herbivorus.

Since the *A'ryà* measure, however, may be almost infinitely varied, the couplet would have a form completely *Roman*, if the proportion of *syllabick instants*, in the long and short verses, were *twenty-four* to *twenty*, instead of *thirty* to *twenty-seven*:

Venor aplos tigridasque, et, pessima monstra, tyrannos:  
Cerva mali quid agunt herbivorusque lepus?

I now exhibit the five stanzas of VARA'HA in *European* characters, with an etching of the

two first, which are the most important, in the original *Dévanágari*:

As'léshárdháddacshinamuttaramayanai ravérdhanisht'hádyan  
Núnan cadáchidásídyénóctan púrva s'astréshu.

Sámpratamayanai savituh carcat'acádyai mrígáditas'chányat:  
Uctábhávè vicrítih pratyacshaperíshanaír vyaçtih.

Dúraſt'hachihnavédyádudaye'ftamayé'piṇa sahafránsöh,  
Ch'háyápravés'anirgamachihnaíryà maṇdálè mahati.

Aprápya macaramarcò vinivṛttò hanti sáparán yámyán,  
Carcat'acamasánpráptò vinivṛttas'chóttarán faindrín.

Uttaramayanamatítya vyávríttah cshémas'afya vriddhicarah,  
Pracrítist'has'chápyévan vicrítigatir bhayacridushnáns'uh.

Of the five couplets thus exhibited, the following translation is most scrupulously literal:

" Certainly the southern solstice was once in  
" the middle of *As'léshà*, the northern in the  
" first degree of *Dhanisht'hà*, by what is recorded  
" in former *Sástras*. At present one solstice is  
" in the first degree of *Carcata*, and the other in  
" the first of *Macara*: that which is recorded,  
" not appearing, a change must have happened;  
" and the proof arises from ocular demonstra-  
" tions; that is, by observing the remote object  
" and its marks at the rising or setting of the  
" sun, or by the marks, in a large graduated  
" circle, of the shadow's ingress and egress. The  
" sun, by turning back without having reached  
" *Macara*, destroys the south and the west; by  
" turning back without having reached *Carcata*,  
" the north and east. By returning, when he

“ has just passed the summer solstitial point, he  
 “ makes wealth secure and grain abundant,  
 “ since he moves thus according to nature; but  
 “ the sun, by moving unnaturally, excites ter-  
 “ rour.”

Now the *Hindu Astronomers* agree, that the 1st January 1790 was in the year 4891 of the *Calilyuga*, or their *fourth* period, at the beginning of which, they say, the equinoctial points were in the first degrees of *Méṣha* and *Tulā*; but they are also of opinion, that the vernal equinox oscillates from the third of *Mīna* to the twenty-seventh of *Méṣha* and back again in 7200 years, which they divide into four *pádas*, and consequently that it moves, in the two intermediate *pádas*, from the first to the twenty-seventh of *Méṣha* and back again in 3600 years; the colure cutting their ecliptick in the first of *Méṣha*, which coincides with the first of *Aśvinī*, at the beginning of every such oscillatory period. VARĀHA, surnamed MIHIRA, or the Sun, from his knowledge of Astronomy, and usually distinguished by the title of *Achārya*, or teacher of the *Vēda*, lived confessedly, when the *Calilyuga* was far advanced; and, since by actual observation he found the solstitial points in the first degrees of *Carcata* and *Macara*, the equinoctial points were at the same time in the first of *Méṣha* and *Tulā*: he lived, therefore, in the year

3600 of the fourth *Indian* period, or 1291 years before 1st January 1790, that is, about the year 499 of our era. This date corresponds with the *ayanánsa*, or precession, calculated by the rule of the *Súrya siddhánta*; for  $19^{\circ} 21' 54''$  would be the precession of the equinox in 1291 years according to the *Hindu* computation of  $54''$  annually, which gives us the origin of the *Indian* Zodiack nearly; but by NEWTON's demonstrations, which agree as well with the phenomena, as the varying density of our earth will admit, the equinox recedes about  $50''$  every year, and has receded  $17^{\circ} 55' 50''$  since the time of VARAHA, which gives us more nearly in our own sphere the first degree of *Méṣha* in that of the *Hindus*. By the observation recorded in older *Sátras*, the equinox had gone back  $23^{\circ} 20'$ , or about 1680 years had intervened, between the age of the *Muni* and that of the modern astronomer: the former observation, therefore, must have been made about 2971 years before 1st January 1790, that is, 1181 before CHRIST.

We come now to the commentary, which contains information of the greatest importance. By former *Sátras* are meant, says BHĀTTĀT-PALA, the books of PARĀSARA and of other *Munis*; and he then cites from the *Parāśari Saṅhitā* the following passage, which is in mo-

dulated prose and in a style much resembling that of the *Védas*:

Sravishtádyát paushnárdhántan charah sísírò; vasantah paushnárdhát róhinyántan; faumáydyádas'léshárdhántan gríshmah; právřid'asléshárdhát hastántan; chitrádyát jyésht'hárdhántan s'arat; hémantò jyésht'hárdhát vaishn'avántan.

"The season of *Sisíra* is from the first of " *Dhanisht'hà* to the middle of *Révatì*; that of " *Vasantā* from the middle of *Révatì* to the end " of *Róbini*; that of *Gríshma* from the begin- " ning of *Mrīgasíras* to the middle of *As'léshà*; " that of *Vershà* from the middle of *As'léshà* to " the end of *Hasta*; that of *Sarad* from the first " of *Chitrà* to the middle of *Jyésh't'hà*; that of " *Hémanta* from the middle of *Jyésh't'hà* to the " end of *Sravanà*."

This account of the six Indian seasons, each of which is co-extensive with two signs, or four lunar stations and a half, places the solstitial points, as VARA'HÀ has asserted, in the first degree of *Dhanisht'hà*, and the middle, or  $6^{\circ} 40'$ , of *As'léshà*, while the equinoctial points were in the tenth degree of *Bharani* and  $3^{\circ} 20'$  of *Vis'ác'hà*; but, in the time of VARA'HÀ, the solstitial colure passed through the 10th degree of *Punarvasu* and  $3^{\circ} 20'$  of *Uttaráshárá*, while the equinoctial colure cut the Hindu ecliptick in the

first of *Aśvinī* and  $6^{\circ} 40'$  of *Chitrā*, or the *Yoga* and only star of that mansion, which, by the way, is indubitably the *Spike* of the Virgin, from the known longitude of which all other points in the *Indian* Zodiack may be computed. It cannot escape notice, that PARĀSARA does not use in this passage the phrase *at present*, which occurs in the text of VARĀHA; so that the places of the colures might have been ascertained *before* his time, and a considerable change might have happened in their true position without any change in the phrases, by which the seasons were distinguished; as our popular language in astronomy remains unaltered, though the Zodiacal asterisms are now removed a whole sign from the places, where they have left their names: it is manifest, nevertheless, that PARĀSARA must have written *within twelve centuries* before the beginning of our era, and that single fact, as we shall presently show, leads to very momentous consequences in regard to the system of *Indian* history and literature.

On the comparison, which might easily be made, between the colures of PARĀSARA and those ascribed by EUDOXUS to CHIRON, the supposed assistant and instructor of the *Argonauts*, I shall say very little; because the whole *Argonautick* story (which neither was, accord-

ing to HERODOTUS, nor, indeed, could have been, originally *Grecian*), appears, even when stripped of its poetical and fabulous ornaments, extremely disputable; and, whether it was founded on a league of the *Helladian* princes and states for the purpose of checking, on a favourable opportunity, the overgrown power of *Egypt*, or with a view to secure the commerce of the *Euxine* and appropriate the wealth of *Colchis*, or, as I am disposed to believe, on an emigration from *Africa* and *Asia* of that adventurous race, who had first been established in *Chaldea*; whatever, in short, gave rise to the fable, which the old poets have so richly embellished, and the old historians have so inconsiderately adopted, it seems to me very clear even on the principles of NEWTON, and on the same authorities to which he refers that the voyage of the *Argonauts* must have preceded the year, in which his calculations led him to place it. BATTUS built *Cyrene*, says our great philosopher, on the site of *Irasa*, the city of ANTAEUS, in the year 633 before CHRIST; yet he soon after calls EURIPYLOS, with whom the *Argonauts* had a conference, king of *Cyrene*, and in both passages he cites PINDAR, whom I acknowledge to have been the most learned, as well as the sublimest, of poets. Now, if I understand PINDAR (which I will not assert,

and I neither possess nor remember at present the *Scholia*, which I formerly perused) the fourth *Pythian Ode* begins with a short panegyrick on ARCESILAS of *Cyrene*; “Where, says the “bard, the priestess, who sat near the golden “eagles of Jove, prophesied of old, when “APOLLO was not absent from his mansion, “that BATTUS, the colonizer of fruitful *Lybia*, “having just left the sacred isle (*Thera*), “should build a city excelling in cars, on the “splendid breast of earth, and, *with the seventeenth generation*, should refer to himself the “*Therean* prediction of MEDEA, which that “princess of the *Colchians*, that impetuous “daughter of ÆETES, breathed from her im-“mortal mouth, and thus delivered to the half-“divine mariners of the warriour JASON.” From this introduction to the noblest and most animated of the *Argonautick* poems, it appears, that *fifteen complete generations* had intervened between the voyage of JASON and the emigration of BATTUS; so that, considering *three* generations as equal to *an hundred or an hundred and twenty years*, which NEWTON admits to be the *Grecian* mode of computing them, we must place that voyage at least *five or six hundred years* before the time fixed by NEWTON himself, according to his own computation, for the building of *Cyrene*; that is, *eleven or twelve*

bundred and thirty-three years before CHRIST ; an age very near on a medium to that of PARASARA. If the poet means afterwards to say, as I understand him, that ARCESILAS, his contemporary, was the eighth in descent from BATTUS, we shall draw nearly the same conclusion, without having recourse to the unnatural reckoning of thirty-three or forty years to a generation ; for PINDAR was forty years old, when the *Persians*, having crossed the *Hellespont*, were nobly resisted at *Thermopylæ* and gloriously defeated at *Salamis* : he was born, therefore, about the sixty-fifth *Olympiad*, or five hundred and twenty years before our era ; so that, by allowing more naturally *six* or *seven hundred* years to *twenty-three* generations, we may at a medium place the voyage of JASON about one thousand one hundred and seventy years before our Saviour, or about *forty-five* years before the beginning of the *Newtonian* chronology.

The description of the old colures by EU-DOXUS, if we implicitly rely on his testimony and that of HIPPARCHUS, who was, indisputably, a great astronomer for the age, in which he lived, affords, I allow, sufficient evidence of some rude observation about 937 years before the *Christian* epoch ; and, if the cardinal points had receded from those colures

$36^{\circ} 29' 10''$  at the beginning of the year 1690, and  $37^{\circ} 52' 30''$  on the first of January in the present year, they must have gone back  $3^{\circ} 23' 20''$  between the observation implied by PARA'SAR and that recorded by EUDOXUS; or, in other words, 244 years must have elapsed between the two observations: but, this disquisition having little relation to our principal subject, I proceed to the last couplets of our *Indian* astronomer VARA'HĀ MIHIRA, which, though merely astrological and consequently absurd, will give occasion to remarks of no small importance. They imply, that, when the solstices are not in the first degrees of *Carcata* and *Macara*, the motion of the sun is contrary to nature, and being caused, as the commentator intimates, by some *utpāta*, or preternatural agency, must necessarily be productive of misfortune; and this vain idea seems to indicate a very superficial knowledge even of the system, which VARA'HĀ undertook to explain; but he might have adopted it solely as a religious tenet, on the authority of GARGA, a priest of eminent sanctity, who expresses the same wild notion in the following couplet:

Yadà nivertatē'práptah fravishtámuttaráyanē,  
Asléshán dacshiné'prápta stadarávidyànmahadbhayan

“ When the sun returns, not having reached

“ *Dhanisht'hà* in the northern solstice, or not  
 “ having reached *As'léshà* in the southern, then  
 “ let a man feel great apprehension of danger.”

PARA'SARA himself entertained a similar opinion, that any irregularity in the solstices would indicate approaching calamity: *Yadàpráptò vaishnavántam*, says he, *udanmárgè prepadyatè, dacshiné asléshám và mahábhayáya*, that is, “ When, having reached the end of *Sravanà*, “ in the northern path, or half of *As'léshà* in “ the southern, he still advances, it is a cause of “ great fear.” This notion possibly had its rise, before the regular precession of the cardinal points had been observed; but we may also remark, that some of the lunar mansions were considered as inauspicious, and others as fortunate: thus MENU, the first *Indian* lawgiver, ordains, that certain rites shall be performed under the influence of a happy *Nakshatra*; and, where he forbids any female name to be taken from a constellation, the most learned commentator gives *Ardrà* and *Révatì* as examples of ill omened names, appearing by design to skip over others, that must first have occurred to him. Whether *Dhanisht'hà* and *As'léshà* were inauspicious or prosperous, I have not learned; but, whatever might be the ground of VARA'-HA's astrological rule, we may collect from his astronomy, which was grounded on observation,

that the solstice had receded *at least*  $23^{\circ} 20'$  between his time and that of PARASARA; for, though he refers his position to the *signs*, instead of the *lunar mansions*, yet all the *Pandits*, with whom I have conversed on the subject, unanimously assert, that the first degrees of *Mésha* and *Aśvinī* are coincident: since the two ancient sages name only the lunar asterisms, it is probable, that the solar division of the Zodiack into twelve signs was not generally used in their days; and we know from the comment on the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, that the lunar month, by which all religious ceremonies are still regulated, was in use before the solar. When M. BAILLY asks, “why the *Hindus* established the beginning of the precession, according to their ideas “of it, in the year of CHRIST 499,” to which his calculations also had led him, we answer, because *in that year* the vernal equinox was found by observation in the origin of their ecliptick; and since they were of opinion, that it must have had the same position in the first year of the *Caliyuga*, they were induced by their erroneous theory to fix the beginning of their fourth period 3600 years before the time of VARAHA, and to account for PARASARA’s observation by supposing an *utpāta*, or *prodigy*.

To what purpose, it may be asked, have we ascertained the age of the *Munis*? Who was

PARA'SARA? Who was GARGA? With whom were they contemporary, or with whose age may theirs be compared? What light will these inquiries throw on the history of *India* or of mankind? I am happy in being able to answer those questions with confidence and precision.

All the *Brāhmens* agree, that only one PARA'SARA is named in their sacred records; that he composed the astronomical book before-cited, and a law-tract, which is now in my possession; that he was the grandson of VASISHT'HĀ, another astronomer and legislator, whose works are still extant, and who was the preceptor of RA'MA, king of *Ayódhyā*; that he was the father of VYĀ'SA, by whom the *Vēdas* were arranged in the form, which they now bear, and whom CRISHNA himself names with exalted praise in the *Gītā*; so that, by the admission of the *Pandits* themselves, we find only three generations between two of the RA'MAS, whom they consider as incarnate *portions* of the divinity; and PARA'SAR might have lived till the beginning of the *Caliyuga*, which the mistaken doctrine of an oscillation in the cardinal points has compelled the *Hindus* to place 1920 years too early. This error, added to their fanciful arrangement of the four ages, has been the source of many absurdities; for they insist, that VA'L-

MIC, whom they cannot but allow to have been contemporary with RA'MACHANDRA, lived in the age of VYĀSA, who consulted him on the composition of the *Mahábhárata*, and who was personally known to BALARA'MA, the brother of CRISHNA: when a very learned Bráhmen had repeated to me an agreeable story of a conversation between VA'LMIK and VYĀSA, I expressed my surprise at an interview between two bards, whose ages were separated by a period of 864,000 years; but he soon reconciled himself to so monstrous an anachronism, by observing that the longevity of the *Munis* was preternatural, and that no limit could be set to divine power. By the same recourse to miracles or to prophecy, he would have answered another objection equally fatal to his chronological system: it is agreed by all, that the lawyer YA'GYAWALCYA was an attendant on the court of JANACA, whose daughter SIT'A' was the constant, but unfortunate, wife of the great RA'MA, the hero of VA'LMIK's poem; but that lawyer himself, at the very opening of his work, which now lies before me, names both PARASAR and VYĀSA among twenty authors, whose tracts form the body of original *Indian* law. By the way, since VASISHT'HA is more than once named in the *Mánavásanhità*, we may be certain, that the laws ascribed to MENU, in whatever age they

might have been first promulgated, could not have received the form, in which we now see them; above *three thousand* years ago. The age and functions of GARGA lead to consequences yet more interesting: he was confessedly the *puróhita*, or officiating priest, of CRISHNA himself, who, when only a herdsman's boy at *Mat'-burà*, revealed his divine character to GARGA, by running to him with more than mortal benignity on his countenance, when the priest had invoked NARAYAN. His daughter was eminent for her piety and her learning, and the Bráhmans admit, without considering the consequence of their admission, that she is thus addressed in the *Véda* itself: *Yata úrdhwán nò và samópi, GA'RG1, éśba ádityò dyámúrdhànán tapati, dyà và bhúmin tapati, bhúmyà subhran tapati, lócán tapati, antaran tapatyanar:taran tapati*; or, “That sun, O daughter of GARGA, than which nothing is higher, to which nothing is equal, enlightens the summit of the sky; with the sky enlightens the earth; with the earth enlightens the lower worlds; enlightens the higher worlds, enlightens other worlds; it enlightens the breast, enlightens all besides the breast.” From these facts, which the Bráhmans cannot deny, and from these concessions, which they unanimously make, we may reasonably infer, that if VYASA was not the

composer of the *Vedas*, he added at least something of his own to the scattered fragments of a more ancient work, or perhaps to the loose traditions, which he had collected ; but, whatever be the comparative antiquity of the *Hindu* scriptures, we may safely conclude, that the *Mosaick* and *Indian* chronologies are perfectly consistent ; that MENU, son of BRAHMA', was the *Adima*, or *first*, created mortal, and consequently our *ADAM* ; that MENU, child of the Sun, was preserved with *seven* others, in a *babitra* or capacious ark, from an universal deluge, and must, therefore, be our *NOAH* ; that HIRANYACASIPU, the giant *with a golden axe*, and *Vali* or *Bali*, were impious and arrogant monarchs, and, most probably, our *NIMROD* and *BELUS* ; that the three RA'MAS, two of whom were invincible warriors, and the third, not only valiant in war, but the patron of agriculture and *wine*, which derives an epithet from his name, were different representations of the *Grecian Bacchus*, and either the *RA'MA* of Scripture, or his colony personified, or the Sun first adored by his idolatrous family, that a considerable emigration from *Chaldea* into *Greece*, *Italy*, and *India*, happened about *twelve* centuries before the birth of our Saviour ; that SA'CYA, or SI'SAK, about two hundred years after VYASA, either in person or by a colony from *Egypt*, imported into this

country the mild heresy of the ancient *Baud-dhas*; and that the dawn of true *Indian* history appears only three or four centuries before the *Christian* era, the preceding ages being clouded by allegory or fable.

As a specimen of that fabling and allegorizing spirit, which has ever induced the *Bráhmens* to disguise their whole system of history, philosophy, and religion, I produce a passage from the *Bhágavat*, which, however strange and ridiculous, is very curious in itself and closely connected with the subject of this essay: it is taken from the fifth *Scandha*, or section, which is written in modulated prose. “ There are some, ” says the *Indian* author, who, for the purpose “ of meditating intensely on the holy son of “ *VASUDE'VA*, imagine yon celestial sphere to “ represent the figure of that aquatrick animal, . “ which we call *Sis'umára*: its head being “ turned downwards, and its body bent in a “ circle, they conceive *Dhruva*, or the pole-star, “ to be fixed on the point of its tail; on the “ middle part of the tail they see four stars, *Pre-<sup>a</sup>jápati, Agni, Indra, Dherma*, and on its base “ two others, *Dbátri* and *Vidbátri*: on its “ rump are the *Septarshis*, or seven stars of the “ *Sacata*, or *Wain*; on its back the path of the “ Sun, called *Ajavit'hi*, or the *Series of Kids*; “ on its belly the *Gangà* of the sky: *Punarvasu*

“ and *Pus̄hya* gleam respectively on its right and  
 “ left haunches; *A’rdrà* and *As’lēshà* on its right  
 “ and left feet or fins; *Abhijit* and *Uttarāśbād’hà*  
 “ in its right and left nostrils; *Sravanà* and  
 “ *Purvāśbād’hà* in its right and left eyes; *Dha-*  
 “ *nishṭ’hà* and *Mūla* on its right and left ears.  
 “ Eight constellations, belonging to the summer  
 “ solstice, *Maghà*, *Púrvap’halgunì*, *Uttarap’hal-*  
 “ *gunì*, *Hasta*, *Chitrà*, *Swátì*, *Visáč’hà*, *Anurádbhà*,  
 “ may be conceived in the ribs of its left side; and  
 “ as many asterisms, connected with the winter  
 “ solstice, *Mrigas’iras*, *Róbinì*, *Critticà*, *Bharanì*,  
 “ *Aświnì*, *Revatì*, *Uttarabbadrapadà*, *Púrvabha-*  
 “ *drapadà*, may be imagined on the ribs of its  
 “ right side in an inverse order: let *Satabhishà*  
 “ and *Jyéṣṭh’hà* be placed on its right and left  
 “ shoulders. In its upper jaw is *Agastya*, in its  
 “ lower *Yama*; in its mouth the planet *Man-*  
 “ *gala*: in its part of generation, *Sanais’chara*;  
 “ on its hump, *Vribhaspati*; in its breast, the  
 “ Sun; in its heart, *Náráyan*; in its front the  
 “ moon; in its navel, *Us’anas*; on its two nip-  
 “ ples the two *Aświnas*; in its ascending and  
 “ descending breaths, *Budba*; on its throat,  
 “ *Rábu*; in all its limbs, *Cétus*, or comets; and  
 “ in its hairs, or bristles, the whole multitude of  
 “ stars.” It is necessary to remark, that, al-  
 though the *s’is’umára* be generally described as  
 the *sea-bog*, or *porpoise*, which we frequently

have seen playing in the *Ganges*, yet *sūsmār*, which seems derived from the *Sanscrit*, means in *Persian* a large *lizard*: the passage just exhibited may nevertheless relate to an animal of the cetaceous order, and possibly to the dolphin of the ancients. Before I leave the sphere of the *Hindus*, I cannot help mentioning a singular fact: in the *Sanscrit* language *Ricṣha* means a *constellation* and a *bear*, so that *Maharicṣha* may denote either a *great bear* or a *great asterism*. Etymologists may, perhaps, derive the *Megas arctos* of the *Greeks* from an *Indian* compound ill understood; but I will only observe, with the wild *American*, that a bear *with a very long tail* could never have occurred to the imagination of any one, who had seen the animal. I may be permitted to add, on the subject of the *Indian Zodiack*, that, if I have erred, in a former essay, where the longitude of the lunar mansions is computed from the first star in our constellation of the Ram, I have been led into error by the very learned and ingenious M. BAILLY, who relied, I presume, on the authority of M. LE GENTIL: the origin of the *Hindu Zodiack*, according to the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, must be nearly  $\text{or } 19^{\circ} 21' 54''$ , in our sphere, and the longitude of *Chitrā*, or the Spike, must of course be  $199^{\circ} 21' 54''$  from the vernal equinox; but, since it is difficult by that computation, to ar-

range the twenty-seven mansions and their several stars, as they are delineated and enumerated in the *Retnamálà*, I must for the present suppose with M. BAILLY, that the *Zodiack* of the *Hindus* had two origins, one constant and the other variable; and a farther inquiry into the subject must be reserved for a season of retirement and leisure.

NOTE

TO

MR. VANSITTART'S PAPER

ON THE

*AFGHANS BEING DESCENDED FROM THE JEWS.*

BY THE PRESIDENT.

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THIS account of the *Afghāns* may lead to a very interesting discovery. We learn from ESDRAS, that the Ten Tribes, after a wandering journey, came to a country called *Arsareth*; where, we may suppose, they settled: now the *Afghāns* are said by the best *Persian* historians to be descended from the *Jews*; they have traditions among themselves of such a descent; and it is even asserted that their families are distinguished by the names of *Jewish* tribes, although, since their conversion to the *Islam*, they studiously conceal their origin; the *Pushto* language, of which I have seen a dictionary, has a manifest resemblance to the *Chaldaick*; and a considerable district under their dominion is called *Hazāreb*, or *Hazāret*, which might easily have been changed into the word used by ESDRAS. I strongly recommend an inquiry into the literature and history of the *Afghāns*.

ON  
THE ANTIQUITY  
OF  
THE INDIAN ZODIACK.  
BY THE PRESIDENT.

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I ENGAGE to support an opinion (which the learned and industrious M. MONTUCLA seems to treat with extreme contempt), that the *Indian* division of the Zodiack was not borrowed from the *Greeks* or *Arabs*, but, having been known in this country from time immemorial, and being the same in part with that used by other nations of the old *Hindu* race, was probably invented by the first progenitors of that race before their dispersion. “The *Indians*, he says, “have two divisions of the Zodiack; one, like “that of the *Arabs*, relating to the moon, and “consisting of *twenty-seven* equal parts, by “which they can tell very nearly the hour of “the night; another relating to the sun, and, “like ours, containing twelve signs, to which “they have given as many names corresponding “with those, which we have borrowed from “the *Greeks*.” All that is true; but he

adds : “ It is highly probable that they received  
“ them at some time or another by the inter-  
“ vention of the *Arabs*; for no man, surely,  
“ can persuade himself, that it is the ancient  
“ division of the Zodiack formed, according to  
“ some authors, by the forefathers of mankind  
“ and still preserved among the *Hindus*.” Now  
I undertake to prove, that the *Indian* Zodiack  
was not borrowed mediately or directly from  
the *Arabs* or *Greeks*; and, since the solar division  
of it in *India* is the same in substance with  
that used in *Greece*, we may reasonably con-  
clude, that both *Greeks* and *Hindus* received it  
from an older nation, who first gave names to  
the luminaries of heaven, and from whom both  
*Greeks* and *Hindus*, as their similarity in lan-  
guage and religion fully evinces, had a com-  
mon descent.

The same writer afterwards intimates, that  
“ the time, when *Indian* Astronomy received  
“ its most considerable improvement, from which  
“ it has now, as he imagines, wholly declined,  
“ was either the age, when the *Arabs*, who  
“ established themselves in *Perſia* and *Sogdiana*,  
“ had a great intercourse with the *Hindus*, or  
“ that, when the successors of CHENGIZ united  
“ both *Arabs* and *Hindus* under one vast domi-  
“ nion.” It is not the object of this essay, to  
correct the historical errors in the passage last

cited, nor to defend the astronomers of *India* from the charge of gross ignorance in regard to the figure of the earth and the distances of the heavenly bodies ; a charge, which MONTUCLA very boldly makes on the authority, I believe, of father SOUCIET : I will only remark, that in our conversations with the *Pandits*, we must never confound the system of the *Jyautishcas*, or mathematical astronomers, with that of the *Pauráncas*, or poetical fabulists ; for to such a confusion alone must we impute the many mistakes of *Europeans* on the subject of *Indian* science. A venerable mathematician of this province, named RA'MACHANDRA, now in his eightieth year, visited me lately at *Criśnanagar*, and part of his discourse was so applicable to the inquiries, which I was then making, that, as soon as he left me, I committed it to writing. “ The *Pauráncs*, he said, will tell “ you, that our earth is a plane figure studded “ with eight mountains, and surrounded by “ seven seas of milk, nectar, and other fluids ; “ that the part, which we inhabit, is one of “ seven islands, to which eleven smaller isles “ are subordinate ; that a God, riding on a “ huge *elephant*, guards each of the eight “ regions ; and that a mountain of gold rises “ and gleams in the centre ; but we believe the “ earth to be shaped like a *Cadamba* fruit, or “ spheroidal, and admit only four oceans of

“ salt water, all which we name from the four cardinal points, and in which are many great peninsulas with innumerable islands : they will tell you, that a dragon’s head swallows the moon, and thus causes an eclipse ; but we know, that the supposed head and tail of the dragon mean only the nodes, or points formed by intersections of the ecliptick and the moon’s orbit ; in short, they have imagined a system, which exists only in their fancy ; but we consider nothing as true without such evidence as cannot be questioned.” I could not perfectly understand the old Gymnosophist, when he told me, that the *Rásichakra* or *Circle of Signs* (for so he called the Zodiack) was like a *Dhusíra* flower ; meaning the *Datura*, to which the *Sanscrit* name has been softened, and the flower of which is conical or shaped like a funnel : at first I thought, that he alluded to a projection of the hemisphere on the plane of the colure, and to the angle formed by the ecliptick and equator ; but a younger astronomer named *VINAYACA*, who came afterwards to see me, assured me that they meant only the circular mouth of the funnel, or the base of the cone, and that it was usual among their ancient writers, to borrow from fruits and flowers their appellations of several plane and solid figures.

From the two *Bráhmans*, whom I have just

named, I learned the following curious particulars ; and you may depend on my accuracy in repeating them, since I wrote them in their presence, and corrected what I had written, till they pronounced it perfect. They divide a great circle, as we do, into three hundred and sixty degrees, called by them *anfas* or *portions* ; of which they, like us, allot thirty to each of the twelve signs in this order :

<i>Méshā</i> , the Ram.	<i>Tūlā</i> , the Balance.
<i>Vriſhā</i> , the Bull.	8. <i>Vriſhchīca</i> , the Scorpion.
<i>Mit'huna</i> , the Paīr.	<i>Dhanus</i> , the Bow.
4. <i>Carcat'i</i> , the Crab.	<i>Macara</i> , the Sea-Monster.
<i>Sin̄ha</i> , the Lion.	<i>Cumbha</i> , the Ewer.
<i>Canyā</i> , the Virgin.	12. <i>Mīna</i> , the Fish.

The figures of the twelve asterisms, thus denominated with respect to the sun, are specified, by SRI'PETI, author of the *Retnamālā*, in *Sanskrit* verses ; which I produce, as my vouchers, in the original with a verbal translation :

Méshádayó náma samánarúpi,  
 Vínágadád'nyam mit'hunam nr̄iyugmam,  
 Pradípas'asyé dadhatí carábhyám  
 Návi st'hitá várin'i canyacaiva.  
 Tulá tulábhṛt pretimánapánir  
 Dhanur dhanushmán hayawat parángah,  
 Mr̄igánanah syán macaró't'ha cumbhah  
 Scandhé neró ričtaghat'am dadhánah,  
 Anyanyapuchch'hábhimūc'hó hi mínah  
 Matyadwayam fwaſt'halachárinóm.

“ The *ram*, *bull*, *crab*, *lion*, and *scorpion*, have  
 “ the figures of those five animals respectively :  
 “ the *pair* are a damsel playing on a *Vinā* and  
 “ a youth wielding a mace : the *virgin* stands  
 “ on a boat in water, holding in one hand a  
 “ lamp, in the other an ear of ricecorn : the *ba-*  
 “ *lance* is held by a weigher with a weight in  
 “ one hand : the *bow* by an archer, whose hin-  
 “ der parts are like those of a horse : the *sea-*  
 “ *monster* has the face of an antelope : the *ewer*  
 “ is a waterpot borne on the shoulder of a man,  
 “ who empties it : the *fish* are two with their  
 “ heads turned to each others tails ; and all these  
 “ are supposed to be in such places as suit their  
 “ several natures.”

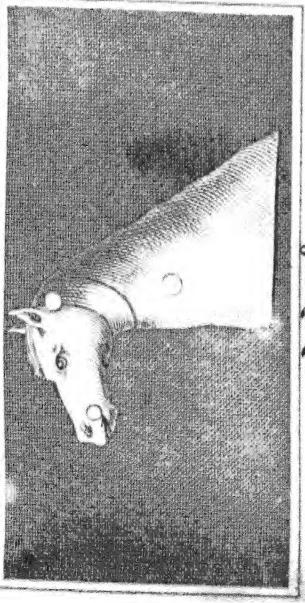
To each of the *twenty-seven* lunar stations, which they call *nacshatras*, they allow thirteen *ansas* and one third, or *thirteen degrees twenty minutes*; and their names appear in the order of the signs, but without any regard to the figures of them :

<i>As'winī.</i>	<i>Maghā.</i>	<i>Mūla.</i>
<i>Bharanī.</i>	<i>Púrva p'halgunī.</i>	<i>Púrvábhád'ha'.</i>
<i>Criticā.</i>	<i>Uttara p'halgunī.</i>	<i>Uttaráshád'hà.</i>
<i>Róhini.</i>	<i>Hasta.</i>	<i>Srávánà.</i>
<i>Mrīgafiras.</i>	<i>Chitrā.</i>	<i>Dhanisht'ā.</i>
<i>A'rdrā.</i>	<i>Swáti.</i>	<i>Satabhishá.</i>
<i>Punarvasu.</i>	<i>Víśac'bā.</i>	<i>Púrva bhádrapadā.</i>
<i>Puṣya.</i>	<i>Anurádhā.</i>	<i>Uttarabhádrapadá.</i>
<i>9. As'leśhā.</i>	<i>18. Jyéṣṭhā.</i>	<i>27. Révatī.</i>

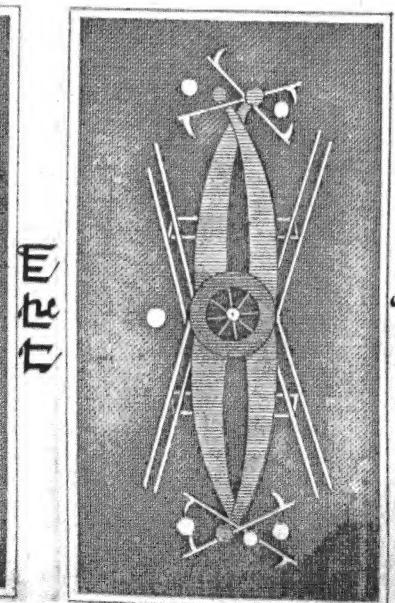
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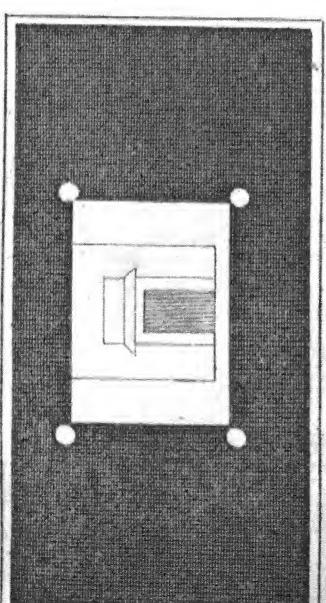
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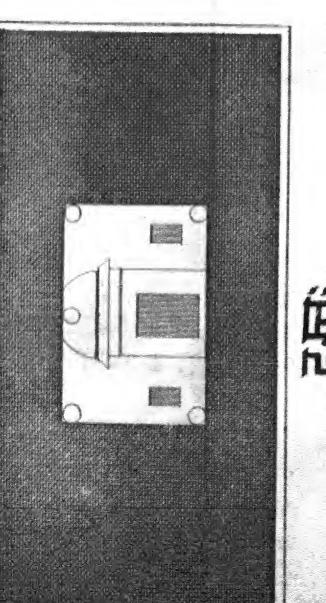
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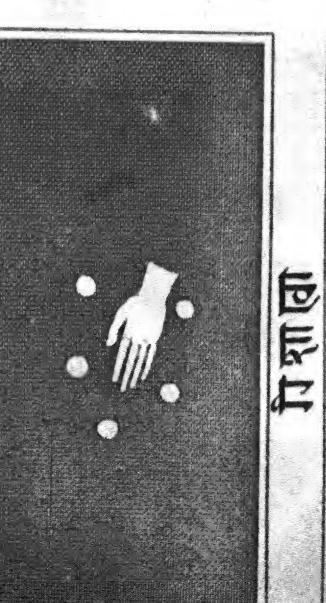
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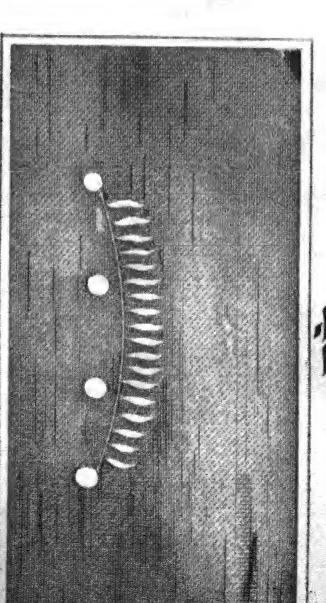
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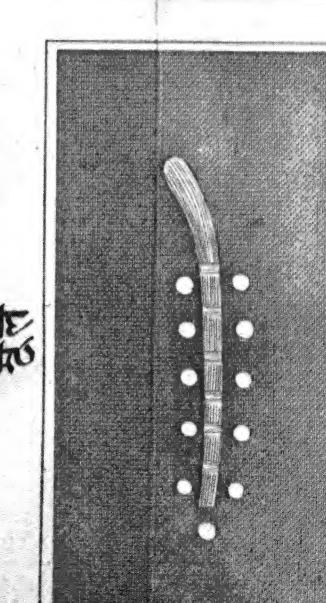
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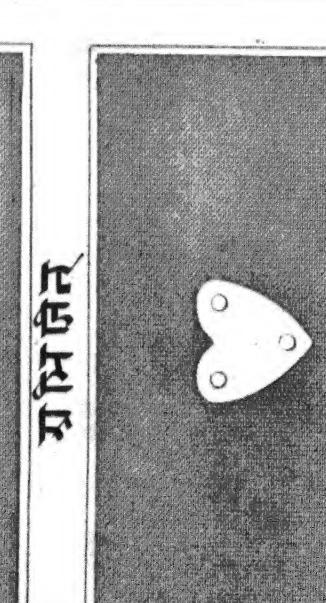
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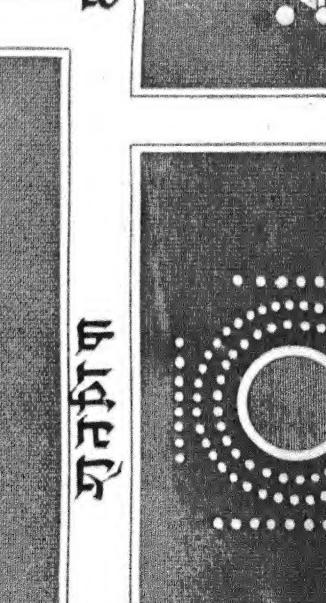
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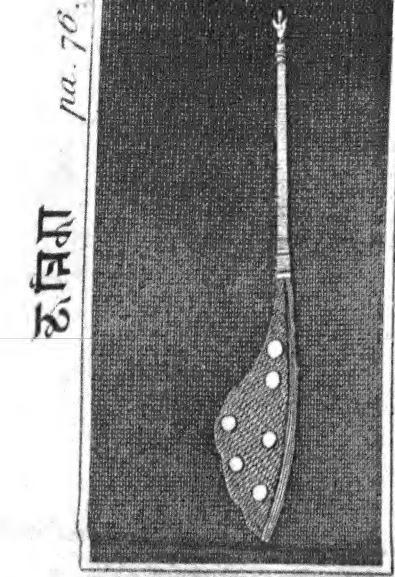
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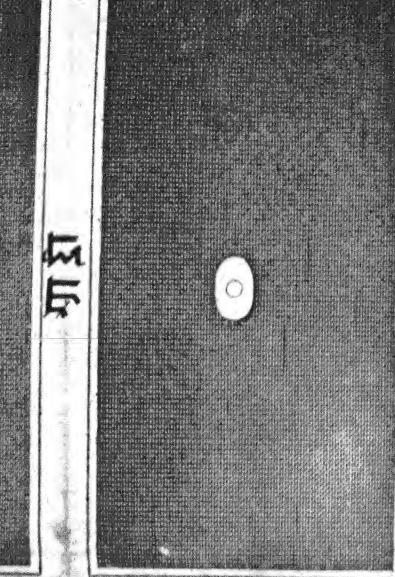
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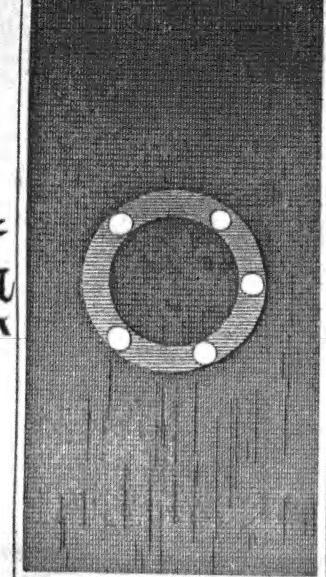
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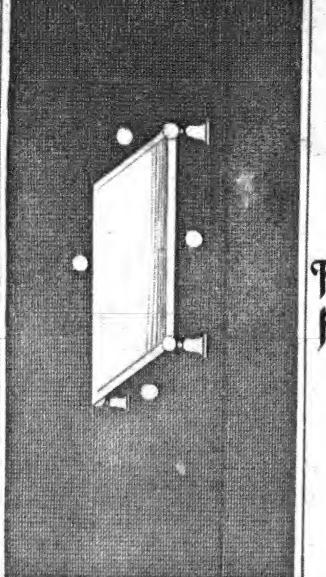
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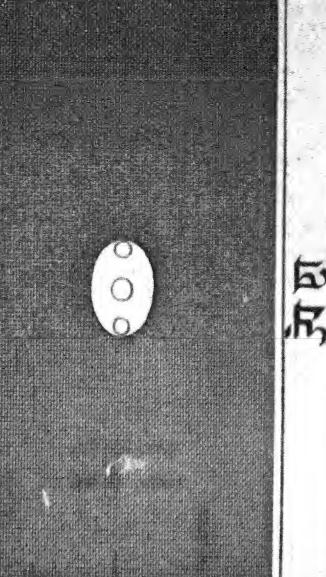
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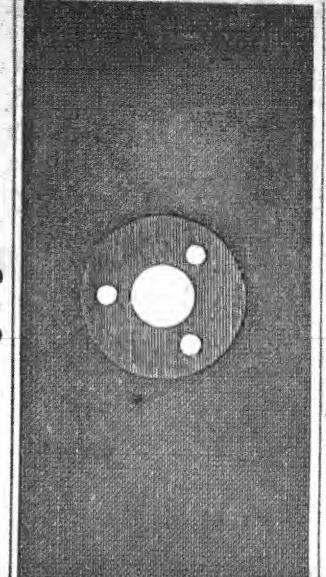
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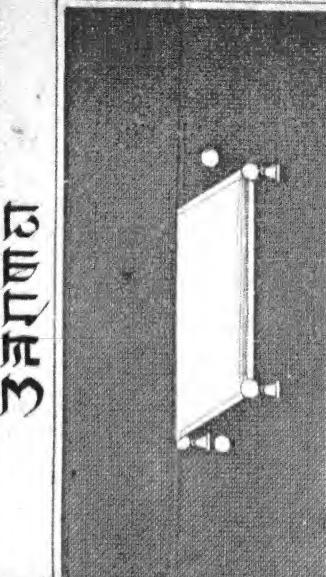
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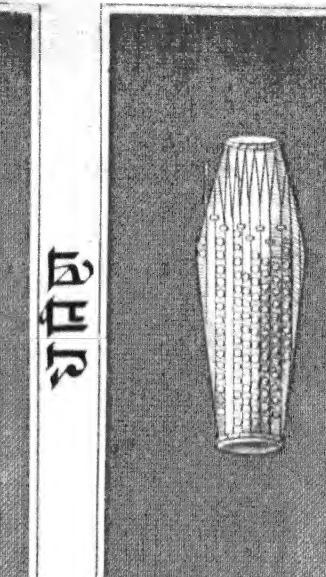
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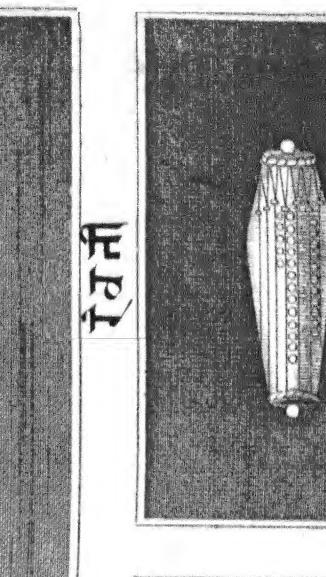
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प्रतिष्ठा



ट्रिती



प्रा. 76.



Between the twenty-first and twenty-second constellations, we find in the plate three stars called *Abhijit*; but they are the last quarter of the asterism immediately preceding, or the latter *Ashár*, as the word is commonly pronounced. A complete revolution of the moon, with respect to the stars, being made in twenty-seven days, odd hours, minutes, and seconds, and perfect exactness being either not attained by the *Hindus* or not required by them, they fixed on the number twenty-seven, and inserted *Abhijit* for some astrological purpose in their nuptial ceremonies. The drawing, from which the plate was engraved, seems intended to represent the figures of the twenty-seven constellations, together with *Abhijit*, as they are described in three stanzas by the author of the *Retnamulá*;

1. Turagamuc'hasadričsham yónirúpam cshurábham,  
Sacat'asamam at'hain'asyóttamángéna tulyam,  
Man'igríhas'ara chacrábháni s'álópamam bham,  
Sayanafadriś'amanyachchátra paryancarúpam.
2. Hastácárayutam cha mauḍicasamam  
chányat praválópamam,  
Dhríshyam tórana fannibham balinibham,  
satcund'alábham param;  
Crudhyatcésarivicraména sadriś'am,  
s'ayyásamánam param,  
Anyad dentivilásavat st'hitamatah  
s'rīngát'acavyačti bham.

3. Trivicramábhām cha mr̄idangarúpam,  
 Vr̄ittam tatónyadyamaíabhwayábham,  
 Paryancarúpam murajánucáram,  
 Ityévam as'wádibhachacrarúpam.

“ A horse’s head ; *yóni* or *bhaga* ; a razor ; a  
 “ wheeled carriage ; the head of an antelope ;  
 “ a gem ; a house ; an arrow ; a wheel ; an-  
 “ other house ; a bedstead ; another bedstead ; a  
 “ hand ; a pearl ; a piece of coral ; a festoon of  
 “ leaves ; an oblation to the Gods ; a rich ear-  
 “ ring ; the tail of a fierce lion ; a couch ; the  
 “ tooth of a wanton elephant, near which is the  
 “ kernel of the *sringátaca* nut ; the three foot-  
 “ steps of VISHNU ; a tabor ; a circular jewel ;  
 “ a two-faced image ; another couch ; and a  
 “ smaller sort of tabor : such are the figures of  
 “ *Aświnī* and the rest in the circle of lunar con-  
 “ stellations.”

The *Hindu* draughtsman has very ill represented most of the figures ; and he has transposed the two *Aśháras* as well as the two *Bhadrapads* ; but his figure of *Abhijit*, which looks like our ace of hearts, has a resemblance to the kernel of the *trapa*, a curious water-plant described in a separate essay. In another *Sanskrit* book the figures of the same constellations are thus varied :

A horse’s head.	A straight tail.	A conch.
<i>Yóni</i> or <i>bhaga</i> .	Two Stars S. to N.	A winnowing fan.
A flame.	Two, N. to S.	Another.

A waggon.	A hand.	An arrow.
A cat's paw.	A pearl.	A tabor.
One bright star.	Red saffron.	A circle of stars.
A bow.	A festoon.	A staff for burdens.
A child's pencil.	A snake.	The beam of a balance.
9. A dog's tail.	18. A boar's head.	27. A fish.

From twelve of the asterisms just enumerated are derived the names of the twelve *Indian* months in the usual form of patronymicks ; for the *Pauránics*, who reduce all nature to a system of emblematical mythology, suppose a celestial nymph to preside over each of the constellations, and feign that the God *Só'MA*, or *Lunus*, having wedded twelve of them, became the father of twelve *Genii*, or months, who are named after their several mothers ; but the *Jyautishicas* assert, that, when their lunar year was arranged by former astronomers, the moon was at the full in each month on the very day, when it entered the *nacshatra*, from which that month is denominated. The manner, in which the derivatives are formed, will best appear by a comparison of the months with their several constellations :

A'swina.	Chaitra.
Cártica.	8. Vaifác'ha.
Márgas'írsha.	Jyaisht'ha.
4. Pausha.	A shára.
Mágha.	Srávana.
P'hálguna.	12. Bhádra.

The third month is also called *Agraháyana* (whence the common word *Agran* is corrupted) from another name of *Mṛīgas'iras*.

Nothing can be more ingenious than the memorial verses, in which the *Hindus* have a custom of linking together a number of ideas otherwise unconnected, and of chaining, as it were, the memory by a regular measure: thus by putting *teeth* for thirty-two, *Rudra* for eleven, *season* for six, *arrow* or *element* for five, *ocean*, *Véda*, or *age*, for four, *RA'MA*, *fire*, or *quality* for three, *eye*, or *CUMA'RĀ* for two, and *earth* or *moon* for one, they have composed four lines, which express the number of stars in each of the twenty-seven asterisms.

Vahni tri r̄itwishu gunéndu critág nibhúta,  
 Bánás'winétra s'ara bhúcu yugabdhi rámáh,  
 Rudrábdhirámagunavédas'atá dwiyugma,  
 Dentá budhairabhihitáh cramas'ó bhatáráh,

That is: “three, three, six; five, three, one; “four, three, five; five, two, two; five, one, “one; four, four, three; eleven, four and “three; three, four, a hundred; two, two, “thirty-two: thus have the stars of the lunar “constellations, in order as they appear, been “numbered by the wise.”

If the stanza was correctly repeated to me, the two *Ashárás* are considered as one asterism, and

*Abhijit* as three separate stars ; but I suspect an error in the third line, because *dwibána* or *two and five* would suit the metre as well as *bdkiráma* ; and because there were only three *Védas* in the early age, when, it is probable, the stars were enumerated and the technical verse composed.

Two lunar stations, or *mansions*, and a quarter are co-extensive, we see, with one sign ; and nine stations correspond with four signs : by counting, therefore, thirteen degrees and twenty minutes from the first star in the head of the Ram, inclusively, we find the whole extent of *Aświnī*, and shall be able to ascertain the other stars with sufficient accuracy ; but first let us exhibit a comparative table of both *Zodiacks*, denoting the mansions, as in the *Váránes* almanack, by the first letters or syllables of their names :

MONTHS.	SOLAR ASTERISMS.	MANSIONS.
A'świn	Mésh	A + bh + $\frac{c}{4}$
Cártic		$\frac{3c}{4}$ + rò + $\frac{M}{2}$
A'graháyan		$\frac{M}{2}$ + á + $\frac{3P}{4}$
Paush		$\frac{P}{4}$ + p + s'l. g.
Mágh	Sinh	m + PU + $\frac{U}{4}$
P'hálgun		$\frac{3U}{4}$ + h + $\frac{ch}{2}$
Chaitr		$\frac{ch}{2}$ + s + $\frac{3v}{4}$
Vaifách		$\frac{v}{4}$ + a + j 18.

MONTHS.	SOLAR ASTERISMS.	MANSIONS.
Jaish't'h	Dhan	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mú} + \text{pù} + \frac{n}{4} \\ \frac{3u}{4} + S + \frac{dh}{2} \\ \frac{dh}{2} + s' + \frac{3pú}{4} \\ \frac{pú}{4} + u + r. 27. \end{array} \right.$
	Macar	
	Cumbh	
	Mín 12.	

Hence we may readily know the stars in each mansion, as they follow in order :

LUNAR MANSIONS.	SOLAR ASTERISMS.	STARS.
Aświní.	Ram.	<i>Three</i> , in and near the head.
Bharaní.	—	<i>Three</i> , in the tail.
Crīticā.	Bull.	<i>Six</i> , of the Pleiads.
Róhiní.	—	<i>Five</i> , in the head and neck.
Mṛigasiras.	Pair.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Three}, \text{in or near the feet,} \\ \text{perhaps in the Galaxy.} \end{array} \right.$
A'rdrā.	—	<i>One</i> , on the knee.
Punarvaśu.	—	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Four}, \text{in the heads, breast} \\ \text{and shoulder.} \end{array} \right.$
Pushya.	Crab.	<i>Three</i> , in the body and claws.
As'léshā	Lion.	<i>Five</i> , in the face and mane.
Maghā.	—	<i>Five</i> , in the leg and haunch.
Púrvap'halgunī.	—	<i>Two</i> ; one in the tail.
Uttarap'halgunī.	Virgin.	<i>Two</i> , on the arm and zone.
Hasta.	—	<i>Five</i> , near the hand.
Chitrā.	—	<i>One</i> , in the spike.
Swáti.	Balance.	<i>One</i> , in the N. Scale.
Vis'ac'hā.	—	<i>Four</i> , beyond it.
Anurádhā.	Scorpion.	<i>Four</i> , in the body.
Jyésh't'hā.	—	<i>Three</i> , in the tail.
Múla.	Bow.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Eleven}, \text{to the point of the} \\ \text{arrow.} \end{array} \right.$

LUNAR MANSIONS.	SOLAR ASTERISMS.	STARS.
Púrváshára.	—	<i>Two</i> , in the leg.
Uttaráshára.	Sea-monster.	<i>Two</i> , in the horn.
Sravanà.	—	<i>Three</i> , in the tail.
Dhanisht'â.	Ewer.	<i>Four</i> , in the arm.
Satabhishâ.	—	<i>Many</i> , in the stream.
Púrvabhadrapadâ.	Fish.	<i>Two</i> , in the first fish.
Uttarabhadrapadâ.	—	<i>Two</i> , in the cord.
Révatî.	—	<i>Thirty-two</i> , in the second fish and cord.

Wherever the *Indian* drawing differs from the memorial verse in the *Retnamálâ*, I have preferred the authority of the writer to that of the painter, who has drawn some terrestrial things with so little similitude, that we must not implicitly rely on his representation of objects merely celestial : he seems particularly to have erred in the stars of *Dhanisht'â*.

For the assistance of those, who may be inclined to re-examine the twenty-seven constellations with a chart before them, I subjoin a table of the degrees, to which the *nacshatras* extend respectively from the first star in the asterism of *Aries*, which we now see near the beginning of the sign *Taurus*, as it was placed in the ancient sphere.

N.	D.	M.	N.	D.	M.	N.	D.	M.
I.	13°.	20'.	X.	133°.	20'.	XIX.	253°.	20'.
II.	26°.	40'.	XI.	146°.	40'.	XX.	266°.	40'.
III.	40°.	0'.	XII.	160°.	0'.	XXI.	280°.	0'.
IV.	53°.	20'.	XIII.	173°.	20'.	XXII.	293°.	20'.
V.	66°.	40'.	XIV.	186°.	40'.	XXIII.	306°.	40'.
VI.	80°.	0'.	XV.	200°.	0'.	XXIV.	320°.	0'.
VII.	93°.	20'.	XVI.	213°.	20'.	XXV.	333°.	20'.
VIII.	106°.	40'.	XVII.	226°.	40'.	XXVI.	346°.	40'.
IX.	120°.	0'.	XVIII.	240°.	0'.	XXVII.	360°.	0'.

The asterisms of the *first* column are in the signs of *Taurus*, *Gemini*, *Cancer*, *Leo*; those of the *second*, in *Virgo*, *Libra*, *Scorpio*, *Sagittarius*; and those of the *third*, in *Capricornus*, *Aquarius*, *Pisces*, *Aries*: we cannot err much, therefore, in any series of *three* constellations; for, by counting  $13^{\circ} 20'$  forwards and backwards, we find the spaces occupied by the two extremes, and the intermediate space belongs of course to the middlemost. It is not meant, that the division of the *Hindu Zodiack* into such spaces is exact to a minute, or that *every* star of each asterism must necessarily be found in the space to which it belongs; but the computation will be accurate enough for our purpose, and no lunar mansion can be very remote from the path of the moon: how Father SOCIET could dream, that *Vijac'hà* was in the Northern Crown, I can hardly comprehend; but it surpasses all comprehension, that M. BAILLY

should copy his dream, and give reasons to support it; especially as four stars, arranged pretty much like those in the *Indian* figure, present themselves obviously near the balance or the scorpion. I have not the boldness to exhibit the individual stars in each mansion, distinguished in BAYER's method by Greek letters; because, though I have little doubt, that the five stars of *As'léßà*, in the form of a wheel, are  $\eta$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\zeta$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\epsilon$ , of the Lion, and those of *Mùla*,  $\gamma$ ,  $\epsilon$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $\zeta$ ,  $\phi$ ,  $\tau$ ,  $\sigma.$   $\nu$ ,  $\circ$ ,  $\xi$ ,  $\pi$ , of the *Sagittary*, and though I think many of the others equally clear, yet, where the number of stars in a mansion is less than three, or even than four, it is not easy to fix on them with confidence; and I must wait, until some young *Hindu* astronomer, with a good memory and good eyes, can attend my leisure on serene nights at the proper seasons, to point out in the firmament itself the several stars of all the constellations, for which he can find names in the *Sanskrit* language: the only stars, except those in the *Zodiack*, that have yet been distinctly named to me, are the *Septarshi*, *Dbruva*, *Arundhati*, *Vishnupad*, *Mátrimandel*, and, in the southern hemisphere, *Agastya*, or *Canopus*. The twenty-seven *Yóga* stars, indeed, have particular names, in the order of the *nacshatras*, to which they belong; and since we learn, that the *Hindus*

have determined *the latitude, longitude, and right ascension of each*, it might be useful to exhibit the list of them : but at present I can only subjoin the names of twenty-seven *Yógas*, or divisions of the Ecliptick.

<i>Vishvambha.</i>	<i>Ganda.</i>	<i>Parigha.</i>
<i>Príti.</i>	<i>Vriddkí.</i>	<i>Siva.</i>
<i>A'yušmat.</i>	<i>Dhruva.</i>	<i>Siddha.</i>
<i>Saubhágya.</i>	<i>Vyágháta.</i>	<i>Sádhya.</i>
<i>Sóbhana.</i>	<i>Herbhana.</i>	<i>Subba.</i>
<i>Atiganda.</i>	<i>Vajra.</i>	<i>Sucra.</i>
<i>Sucarman.</i>	<i>Afrij.</i>	<i>Bráhman.</i>
<i>Dhríti.</i>	<i>Vyatipáta.</i>	<i>Indra.</i>
<i>Súla.</i>	<i>Varíyas.</i>	<i>Vaidhríti.</i>

Having shown in what manner the *Hindus* arrange the *Zodiacal stars* with respect to the sun and moon, let us proceed to our principal subject, *the antiquity of that double arrangement*. In the first place, the *Bráhmans* were always too proud to borrow their science from the *Greeks, Arabs, Moguls*, or any nation of *Mléch-ch'has*, as they call those, who are ignorant of the *Védas*, and have not studied the language of the Gods : they have often repeated to me the fragment of an old verse, which they now use proverbially, *na nichò yavanátparah*, or *no base creature can be lower than a Yavan*; by which name they formerly meant an *Ionian* or *Greek*, and now mean a *Mogul*, or, generally, a *Musele*.

*man.* When I mentioned to different *Pandits*, at several times and in several places, the opinion of *MONTUCLA*, they could not prevail on themselves to oppose it by serious argument; but some laughed heartily; others, with a farcaſtik smile, ſaid it was a *pleasant imagination*; and all ſeemed to think it a notion bordering on phrenſy. In fact, although the figures of the twelve *Indian* signs bear a wonderful reſemblance to thoſe of the *Grecian*, yet they are too much varied for a mere copy, and the nature of the variation proves them to be original; nor is the reſemblance more extraordinary than that, which has often been obſerved, between our *Gothick* days of the week and thoſe of the *Hindus*, which are dedicated to the same luminaries, and (what is yet more ſingular) revolve in the ſame order: *Ravi*, the Sun; *Sóma*, the Moon; *Mangala*, Tuſco; *Budba*, Woden; *Vribaspati*, Thor; *Sucra*, Freya; *Sani*, Sater; yet no man ever imagined, that the *Indians* borrowed ſo remarkable an arrangement from the *Goths* or *Germans*. On the planets I will only obſerve, that *SUCRA*, the regent of *Venus*, is, like all the rest, a *male* deity, named also *USANAS*, and believed to be a ſage of infinite learning; but *ZOHRAH*, the *NA'HI'D* of the *Perſians*, is a goddeſſ like the *FREYA* of our *Saxon* progenitors: the drawing, therefore, of the planets,

which was brought into *Bengal* by Mr. JOHNSON, relates to the *Perfian* system, and represents the genii supposed to preside over them, exactly as they are described by the poet HA'TIFI : " He bedecked the firmament with stars, " and ennobled this earth with the race of men ; " he gently turned the auspicious new moon of " the festival, like a bright jewel, round the " ankle of the sky ; he placed the *Hindu* SA- " TURN on the seat of that restive elephant, the " revolving sphere, and put the rainbow into " his hand, as a hook to coerce the intoxicated " beast ; he made silken strings of sun-beams " for the lute of VENUS ; and presented JUPI- " TER, who saw the felicity of true religion, " with a rosary of clustering Pleiads. The bow " of the sky became that of MARS, when he " was honoured with the command of the celef- " tial host ; for GOD conferred sovereignty on " the Sun, and squadrons of stars were his " army."

The names and forms of the lunar constellations, especially of *Bharanî* and *Abbijit*, indicate a simplicity of manners peculiar to an ancient people ; and they differ entirely from those of the *Aratian* system, in which the very first asterism appears in the dual number, because it consists only of two stars. *Menzil*, or *the place of alighting*, properly signifies a *station* or *stage*,

and thence is used for an ordinary day's *journey*; and that idea seems better applied than *mansion* to so incessant a traveller as the moon: the *menázilu'l kamar*, or *lunar stages*, of the *Arabs* have *twenty-eight* names in the following order, the particle *al* being understood before every word :

Sharatàn.	Nathrah.	Ghafr.	Dhábih'.
But'ain.	Tarf.	Zubáníyah.	Bulaâ.
Thurayyà.	Jabhab.	Iclîl.	Suûd.
Debarân.	Zubrah.	Kalb.	Akhbíya.
Hakânah.	Sarfah.	Shaulah.	Mukdim.
Hanâah.	Awwâ.	Naâîm.	Múkhir.
7. Dhirââ.	14. Simâc.	21. Beldah.	28. Rishâ.

Now, if we can trust the *Arabian* lexicographers, the number of stars in their several *menzils* rarely agrees with those of the *Indians*; and two such nations must naturally have observed, and might naturally have named, the principal stars, near which the moon passes in the course of each day, without any communication on the subject : there is no evidence, indeed, of a communication between the *Hindus* and *Arabs* on any subject of literature or science ; for, though we have reason to believe, that a commercial intercourse subsisted in very early times between *Yemen* and the western coast of *India*, yet the *Brâbmans*, who alone are permitted to read the six *Védingas*, one of which is the astronomical

*Sástra*, were not then commercial, and, most probably, neither could nor would have conversed with *Arabian* merchants. The hostile irruption of the *Arabs* into *Hindustán*, in the eighth century, and that of the *Moguls* under CHENGÍ'Z, in the thirteenth, were not likely to change the astronomical system of the *Hindus*; but the supposed consequences of *modern* revolutions are out of the question; for, if any historical records be true, we know with as positive certainty, that AMARSINH and CA'LIDA's composed their works before the birth of CHRIST, as that MENANDER and TERENCE wrote before that important epoch: now the twelve *signs* and twenty-seven *mansions* are mentioned, by the several names before exhibited, in a *Sanskrit* vocabulary by the first of those *Indian* authors, and the second of them frequently alludes to Róbinì and the rest by name in his *Fatal Ring*, his *Children of the Sun*, and his *Birth of CUMA'RA*; from which poem I produce two lines, that my evidence may not seem to be collected from mere conversation:

Maitrè muhúrtè s'as'alánch'hanéna,  
Yógam gatásúttarap'halganíshu.

“ When the stars of *Uttarap'halgun* had  
“ joined in a fortunate hour the fawn-spotted  
“ moon.”

This testimony being decisive against the conjecture of M. MONTUCLA, I need not urge the great antiquity of MENU's Institutes, in which the twenty-seven asterisms are called the daughters of DACSHA and the consorts of SO'MA, or the Moon, nor rely on the testimony of the *Bráhmans*, who assure me with one voice, that the names of the *Zodiacal* stars occur in the *Védas*; three of which I firmly believe, from internal and external evidence, to be more than *three thousand* years old. Having therefore proved what I engaged to prove, I will close my essay with a general observation. The result of NEWTON's researches into the history of the primitive sphere was, "that the practice of observing the stars began in *Egypt* in the days of AMMON, and was propagated thence by conquest in the reign of his son SISAC, into *Africk, Europe, and Asia*; since which time ATLAS formed the sphere of the *Lybians*; CHIRON, that of the *Greeks*; and the *Chaldeans*, a sphere of their own:" now I hope, on some other occasions, to satisfy the publick, as I have perfectly satisfied myself, that the practice of observing the stars began, with the rudiments of civil society, in the country of those whom we call *Chaldeans*; from which it was propagated into *Egypt, India, Greece, Italy, and Scandinavia*, before the reign of

“ SISAC or SA’CYA, who by conquest spread a  
“ new system of religion and philosophy from  
“ the *Nile* to the *Ganges* about a thousand years  
“ before CHRIST ; but that CHIRON and AT-  
“ LAS were allegorical or mythological person-  
“ ages, and ought to have no place in the serious  
“ history of our species.”

ON THE  
LITERATURE OF THE HINDUS,  
*FROM THE SANSKRIT.*

COMMUNICATED BY GOVERDHAN CAUL,  
*TRANSLATED, WITH A SHORT COMMENTARY,*

BY  
THE PRESIDENT.

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*THE TEXT.*

THERE are eighteen *Vidyā's*, or parts of *true Knowledge*, and some branches of Knowledge *falsely so called*; of both which a short account shall here be exhibited.

The first *four* are the immortal *Vēda's* evidently revealed by GOD; which are entitled, in one compound word, *Rigyaubhsāmāt'harva*, or, in separate words, *Rich*, *Yajusḥ*, *Sáman*, and *At'harvan*: the *Rigvēda* consists of *five* sections; the *Yajurvēda*, of *eighty-six*; the *Sámavēda*, of a *thousand*; and the *At'harvavēda*, of *nine*; with eleven hundred *s'ác'ha's*, or Branches, in various divisions and subdivisions. The *Vēda's* in truth are infinite; but were reduced by

VYĀSA to this number and order ; the principal part of them is that, which explains the Duties of Man in a methodical arrangement ; and in the *fourth* is a system of divine ordinances.

From these are deduced the four *Upavédas*, namely, *Ayush*, *Gándharva*, *Dhanush*, and *St'bhapatya* ; the first of which, or *Ayurvéda*, was delivered to mankind by BRAHMA', INDRA, DHANWANTARI, and five other Deities ; and comprises the theory of Disorders and Medicines, with the practical methods of curing Diseases. The second, or Musick, was invented and explained by BHARATÀ : it is chiefly useful in raising the mind by devotion to the felicity of the Divine nature. The third *Upavéda* was composed by VISWAMITRA on the fabrication and use of arms and implements handled in war by the tribe of *Cshatriya's*. VISWACARMAN revealed the *fourth* in various treatises on sixty-four Mechanical Arts, for the improvement of such as exercise them.

Six *Anga's*, or *Bodies* of Learning, are also derived from the same source : their names are, *Sicshà*, *Calpa*, *Vyácarana*, *Ch'andas*, *Jyótish*, and *Niruëti*. The *first* was written by PA'NINI, an inspired Saint, on the pronunciation of vocal sounds ; the *second* contains a detail of religious acts and ceremonies from the *first* to the *last* ;

and from the branches of these works a variety of rules have been framed by A's'WALAYANA, and others: the *third*, or the Grammar, entitled *Pániniya*, consisting of *eight* lectures or chapters (*Vriddhiradaij*, and so forth), was the production of three *Rishi's*, or holy men, and teaches the proper discriminations of words in construction; but other less abstruse Grammars, compiled merely for popular use, are not considered as *Anga's*: the *fourth*, or *Prosody*, was taught by a *Muni*, named PINGALA, and treats of charms and incantations in verses aptly framed and variously measured; such as the *Gáyatri*, and a thousand others. *Astronomy* is the *fifth* of the *Védángas*, as it was delivered by SU'RYA, and other divine persons: it is necessary in calculations of time. The *sixth*, or *Niruēti*, was composed by YA'sCA (so is the manuscript; but, perhaps, it should be VYAS'A) on the signification of difficult words and phrases in the *Véda's*.

Lastly, there are four *Upánga's*, called *Purána*, *Nyáya*, *Mimánsa*, and *Dherma sástra*. Eighteen *Purána's*, that of BRAHMA, and the rest, were composed by VYAS'A for the instruction and entertainment of mankind in general. *Nyáya* is derived from the root *ni*, to *acquire* or *apprehend*; and, in this sense, the books on *apprehension, reasoning, and judgement*, are called *Nyáya*:

the principal of these are the work of GAUTAMA in *five* chapters, and that of CANADA in *ten*; both teaching the meaning of sacred texts, the difference between just and unjust, right and wrong, and the principles of knowledge, all arranged under *twenty-three* heads. *Mimânsâ* is also *two-fold*; both showing what acts are pure or impure, what objects are to be desired or avoided, and by what means the soul may ascend to the First Principle: the *former*, or *Carma Mimânsâ*, comprised in *twelve* chapters, was written by JAIMINI, and discusses questions of moral Duties and Law; next follows the *Upâsanâ Cânda* in four lectures (*Sancarshana* and the rest), containing a survey of Religious Duties; to which part belong the rules of SA'NDILYA, and others, on devotion and duty to GOD. Such are the contents of the *Pûrva*, or *former*, *Mimânsâ*. The *Uttara*, or *latter*, abounding in questions on the Divine Nature and other sublime speculations, was composed by VYASA, in *four* chapters and *sixteen* sections: it may be considered as the brain and spring of all the *Anga's*; it exposes the heretical opinions of RA'MA'NUJA, MA'DHWA, VALLABHA, and other Sophists; and, in a manner suited to the comprehension of adepts, it treats on the true nature of GANE'SA, BHA'SCARA, or the Sun, NI'LACANTA, LAC'SHMI', and

other forms of One Divine Being. A similar work was written by S'RI S'ANCARA, demonstrating the Supreme Power, Goodness, and Eternity of God.

The Body of *Law*, called *Smṛiti*, consists of eighteen books, each divided under three general heads, the duties of *religion*, the administration of *justice*, and the punishment or *expiation* of crimes: they were delivered, for the instruction of the human species, by MENU, and other sacred personages.

As to *Ethicks*, the *Vēda's* contain all that relates to the duties of Kings; the *Purána's*, what belongs to the relation of husband and wife; and the duties of friendship and society (which complete the triple division) are taught succinctly in both: this double division of *Anga's* and *Upángas* may be considered as denoting the double benefit arising from them in *theory* and *practice*.

The *Bhárata* and *Rámáyana*, which are both *Epick Poems*, comprise the most valuable part of ancient History.

For the information of the lower classes in religious knowledge, the *Páśupata*, the *Pancha-rátra*, and other works, fit for nightly meditation, were composed by SIVA, and others, in an hundred and ninety-two parts on different subjects.

What follow are not really divine, but contain infinite contradictions. *Sánc'hya* is two-fold, that with ISWARA and that without ISWARA: the former is entitled *Pátanjala* in one chapter of four sections, and is useful in removing doubts by pious contemplation; the second, or *Cápila*, is in six chapters on the production of all things by the union of PRACRITI, or *Nature*, and PURUSHA, or the *First Male*: it comprises also, in eight parts, rules for devotion, thoughts on the invisible power, and other topics. Both these works contain a studied and accurate *enumeration* of natural bodies and their principles; whence this philosophy is named *Sánc'hya*. Others hold, that it was so called from its reckoning *three sorts of pain*.

The *Mímánsà*, therefore, is in *two* parts; the *Nyáya*, in *two*; and the *Sánc'hya*, in *two*; and these *six* Schools comprehend all the doctrine of the Theists.

Last of all appears a work written by BUDDHA; and there are also *six* Atheistical systems of Philosophy, entitled *Yógáchára*, *Saudhánta*, *Vaibhásica*, *Mádhyamica*, *Digambara*, and *Chárvác*; all full of indeterminate phrases, errors in sense, confusion between distinct qualities, incomprehensible notions, opinions not duly weighed, tenets destructive of natural equality, containing a jumble of Atheism and Ethics;

distributed, like our Orthodox books, into a number of sections, which omit what ought to be expressed, and express what ought to be omitted; abounding in false propositions, idle propositions, impertinent propositions: some assert, that the heterodox Schools have no *Upáṅga's*; others, that they have six *Anga's*, and as many *Sáṅga's*, or *Bodies* and other *Appendices*.

Such is the analysis of universal knowledge, *Practical* and *Speculative*.

#### THE COMMENTARY.

This first chapter of a rare *Sanskrit* Book, entitled *Vidyádersa*, or a *View of Learning*, is written in so close and concise a style, that some parts of it are very obscure, and the whole requires an explanation. From the beginning of it we learn, that the *Véda's* are considered by the *Hindus* as the fountain of all knowledge human and divine; whence the verses of them are said in the *Gítà* to be the *leaves* of that holy tree, to which the Almighty himself is compared:

úrdhwa múlam adhab s'ác'ham as'watt'ham práhuravyayam  
cb'bandánsi yasya pernáni yaśam véda sa védavit.

“ The wise have called the Incorrputible One  
“ an *As'watt'ha* with its roots above and its  
“ branches below; the leaves of which are the

“ sacred measures : he, who knows this tree,  
“ knows the *Véda*’s.”

All the *Pandits* insist, that *As’watt’ha* means the *Pippala*, or *Religious Fig-tree* with heart-shaped pointed and tremulous leaves ; but the comparison of heavenly knowledge, descending and taking root on earth, to the *Vat’ā*, or great *Indian Fig-tree*, which has most conspicuously its roots on high, or at least has radicating branches, would have been far more exact and striking.

The *Véda*’s consists of three *Cán’d'a*’s or *General Heads* ; namely, *Carma*, *Jñyána*, *Upásanà*, or *Works*, *Faith*, and *Worship* ; to the first of which the Author of the *Vidyáderśā* wisely gives the preference, as MENU himself prefers *universal benevolence* to the *ceremonies* of religion :

*Japyénaiva tu sanfiddhyèdbráhmanó nátra sanjayah :*  
*Curyádanyatravá curyánmaitrō bráhmana uchyatè.*

that is : “ By silent adoration undoubtedly a “ *Bráhman* attains holiness ; but every *benevolent man*, whether he perform or omit that “ ceremony, is justly styled a *Bráhman*.” This triple division of the *Véda*’s may seem at first to throw light on a very obscure line in the *Gítù* :

*Traigunyavishayah védā niṣṭraigunya bhavárjuna*  
or, “ The *Véda*’s are attended with *three* quali-

“ ties : be not thou a man of *three* qualities, O  
 “ ARJUNA.”

But several *Pandits* are of opinion, that the phrase must relate to the three *guna's*, or *qualities* of the mind, that of *excellence*, that of *passion*, and that of *darkness*; from the last of which a Hero should be wholly exempt, though examples of it occur in the *Véda's*, where animals are ordered to be *sacrificed*, and where horrid incantations are inserted for the *destruction* of enemies.

It is extremely singular, as Mr. WILKINS has already observed, that, notwithstanding the fable of BRAHMA's *four* mouths, each of which uttered a *Véda*, yet most ancient writers mention only *three Véda's*, in order as they occur in the compound word *Rigyaubhsáma*; whence it is inferred, that the *At'harvan* was written or collected after the three first; and the two following arguments, which are entirely new, will strongly confirm this inference. In the eleventh book of MENU, a work ascribed to the *first* age of mankind, and certainly of high antiquity, the *At'harvan* is mentioned by name, and styled the *Véda* of *Véda's*; a phrase, which countenances the notion of DA'RÁ SHECU'H, who asserts, in the preface to his *Upanishat*, that “ the *three* first *Védas* are named separately, “ because the *At'harvan* is a corollary from

"them all, and contains the quintessence of "them." But this verse of MENU, which occurs in a modern copy of the work brought from Bánáras, and which would support the antiquity and excellence of the *fourth Véda*, is entirely omitted in the best copies, and particularly in a very fine one written at Gayá, where it was accurately collated by a learned Brábman; so that, as MENU himself in other places names only three *Véda's*, we must believe this line to be an interpolation by some admirer of the *At'harvan*; and such an artifice overthrows the very doctrine, which it was intended to sustain.

The next argument is yet stronger, since it arises from *internal* evidence; and of this we are now enabled to judge by the noble zeal of Colonel POLIER in collecting *Indian curiosities*; which has been so judiciously applied and so happily exerted, that he now possesses a complete copy of the *four Védas* in eleven large volumes.

On a cursory inspection of those books it appears, that even a learner of *Sanskrit* may read a considerable part of the *At'harvavéda* without a dictionary; but that the style of the other *three* is so obsolete, as to seem almost a different dialect: when we are informed, therefore, that few Brábmans at Bánáras can understand any part of the *Véda's*, we must presume, that none

are meant, but the *Rich*, *Yajuṣḥ*, and *Sáman*, with an exception of the *At'barvan*, the language of which is comparatively modern ; as the learned will perceive from the following specimen :

*Yatra brahmaividò yánti dícfhayà tapasà saha ag-nirmántatra nayatwagnirmédbán dedhátumè, ag-nayé swáhà. .. vágurmán tatra nayatu vágub pránán dedhátu mè, váguwè swáhà. súryò mán tatra nayatu chacshubh suryò dedhátu mè, súryáya swáhà; chandrò mán tatra nayatu manaschandrò dedhátu mé, chandráya swáhà. sómò mán tatra nayatu payah sómò dedhátu mé, sómáya swáhà. Indrò mán tatra nayatu balamindrò dedhátu mé, indráya swáhà. ápò mán tatra nayatwámritam-mópatishtatu, adbhyah swáhà. yatra brahmaividò yánti dicshayà tapasà saha, brahmà mán tatra nayatu brahma brahmà dedhátu mé, brabmanè swáhà.*

that is, “ Where they, who know the Great “ One, go, through holy rites and through “ piety, thither may fire raise me ! May fire “ receive my sacrifices ! Mysterious praise to “ fire ! May air waft me thither ! May air in-“ crease my spirits ! Mysterious praise to air ! “ May the Sun draw me thither ! May the sun “ enlighten my eye ! Mysterious praise to the

“ fun ! May the *Maon* bear me thither ! May  
 “ the moon receive my mind ! Mysterious praise  
 “ to the moon ! May the plant *Sóma* lead me  
 “ thither ! May *Sóma* bestow on me its hal-  
 “ lowed milk ! Mysterious praise to *Sóma* !  
 “ May INDRA, or the *firmament*, carry me thi-  
 “ ther ! May INDRA give me strength ! My-  
 “ sterious praise to INDRA ! May *water* bear  
 “ me thither ! May water bring me the stream  
 “ of immortality ! Mysterious praise to the  
 “ waters ! Where they, who know the Great  
 “ One, go, through holy rites and through piety,  
 “ thither may BRAHMA' conduct me ! May  
 “ BRAHMA' lead me to the Great One ! Myste-  
 “ rious praise to BRAHMA' !”

Several other passages might have been cited from the first book of the *At'harvan*, particularly a tremendous *incantation* with consecrated *grass*, called *Darbbha*, and a sublime Hymn to *Cála*, or time ; but a single passage will suffice to show the style and language of this extraordinary work. It would not be so easy to produce a genuine extract from the other *Véda's* : indeed, in a book, entitled *Sivavédánta*, written in *Sanskrit*, but in *Cáshmirian* letters, a stanza from the *Yajurvéda* is introduced ; which deserves for its sublimity to be quoted here ; though the regular cadence of the verses, and the polished elegance of the language, cannot but induce a

suspicion, that it is a more modern paraphrase of some text in the ancient Scripture :

*natatra sūryo bhāti nacha chandra tāracau, nēmā  
vidyutō bhānti cuta éva vabnib : taméva bhāntum  
anubbāti servam, tasya bhāsā servamidam vibhāti.*

that is, “ There the sun shines not, nor the moon and stars : these lightnings flash not *in that place* ; how should even fire blaze *there* ? “ God irradiates all this bright substance ; and “ by its effulgence the universe is enlightened.”

After all, the books on divine *Knowledge*, called *Vēda*, or what is *known*, and *Sruti*, or what has been *heard*, from revelation, are still supposed to be very numerous ; and the *four* here mentioned are thought to have been selected, as containing all the information necessary for man. MOHSANI FA'NI', the very candid and ingenious author of the *Dabistān*, describes in his first chapter a race of old *Persian* sages, who appear from the whole of his account to have been *Hindus* ; and we cannot doubt, that the book of MAHĀ'BA'D, or MENU, which was written, he says, *in a celestial dialect*, means the *Vēda* ; so that, as ZERA'TUSHT was only a reformer, we find in *India* the true source of the ancient *Persian* religion. To this head belong the numerous *Tantra*, *Mantra*, *Agama*, and *Nigama*, *Sástra's*, which consist of *incantat-*

tions and other texts of the *Védas*, with remarks on the occasions, on which they may be successfully applied. It must not be omitted, that the *Commentaries* on the *Hindu* Scriptures, among which that of *VASISHTHA* seems to be reputed the most excellent, are innumerable ; but, while we have access to the fountains, we need not waste our time in tracing the rivulets.

From the *Védas* are immediately deduced the practical arts of *Chirurgery* and *Medicine*, *Musick* and *Dancing*, *Archery*, which comprises the whole art of war, and *Architecture*, under which the system of *Mechanical* arts is included. According to the *Pandits*, who instructed *ABU'LFAZL*, each of the four Scriptures gave rise to one of the *Upavéda's*, or *Sub-scriptures*, in the order in which they have been mentioned ; but this exactness of analogy seems to favour of refinement.

Infinite advantage may be derived by *Europeans* from the various *Medical* books in *Sanskrit*, which contain the names and descriptions of *Indian* plants and minerals, with their uses, discovered by experience, in curing disorders : there is a vast collection of them from the *Cheraca*, which is considered as a work of *SIVA*, to the *Róganirúpana* and the *Nidána*, which are comparatively modern. A number of books, in prose and verse, have been written on *Mu-*

fick, with specimens of *Hindu* airs in a very elegant notation ; but the *Silpa sástra*, or Body of Treatises on *Mechanical arts*, is believed to be lost.

Next in order to these are the six *Védângâ's*, three of which belong to *Grammar*; one relates to religious ceremonies; a fifth to the whole compass of *Mathematicks*, in which the author of *Lilâwati* was esteemed the most skilful man of his time; and the *sixth*, to the explanation of obscure words or phrases in the *Védas*. The grammatical work of PÁNINI, a writer supposed to have been inspired, is entitled *Siddhânta Cau-mudi*, and is so abstruse, as to require the lucubrations of many years, before it can be perfectly understood. When Cás'inát'ha Serman, who attended Mr. WILKINS, was asked what he thought of the *Pániniya*, he answered very expressively, that "it was a forest;" but, since Grammar is only an instrument, not the end, of true knowledge, there can be little occasion to travel over so rough and gloomy a path; which contains, however, probably some acute speculations in *Metaphysics*. The *Sanskrit* Pro-fody is easy and beautiful : the learned will find in it almost all the measures of the *Greeks*; and it is remarkable, that the language of the Bráb-mans runs very naturally into *Sappicks*, *Al-caicks*, and *Lambicks*. Astronomical works in

this language are exceedingly numerous : seventy-nine of them are specified in one list ; and, if they contain the names of the principal stars visible in *India*, with observations on their positions in different ages, what discoveries may be made in Science, and what certainty attained in ancient Chronology ?

Subordinate to these *Anga's* (though the reason of the arrangement is not obvious) are the series of *Sacred Poems*, the Body of *Law*, and the six Philosophical *s'astrā's* ; which the author of our text reduces to two, each consisting of two parts, and rejects a third, in two parts also, as not perfectly *orthodox*, that is, not strictly conformable to his own principles.

The first *Indian Poet* was VA'LMI'CI, author of the *Rámáyana*, a complete Epick Poem on one continued, interesting, and heroick, action ; and the next in celebrity, if it be not superior in reputation for holiness, was the *Mahábhárata* of VYÁ'SA : to him are ascribed the sacred *Purána's*, which are called, for their excellence, the *Eighteen*, and which have the following titles : BRAHME, or the *Great One*, PEDMA, or the *Lotos*, BRA'HMA'ND'A, or the *Mundane Egg*, and AGNI, or *Fire*. (these four relate to the *Creation*), VISHNU, or the *Pervader*, GARUD'A, or his *Eagle*, the Transformations of BRAHMA', SIVA, LINGA, NA'REDA, son of

BRAHMA, SCANDA son of SIVA, MARCANDE'YA, or the Immortal Man, and BHAWISHYA, or the *Prediction of Futurity* (these nine belong to the *attributes* and *powers* of the Deity), and four others, MATSYA, VARA'H'A, CURMA, VA'MENA, or as many incarnations of the Great One in his character of *Preserver*; all containing ancient traditions embellished by poetry or disguised by fable: the eighteenth is the BHAGAWATA, or Life of CRISHNA, with which the same poet is by some imagined to have crowned the whole series; though others, with more reason, assign them different composers.

The system of *Hindu Law*, besides the fine work, called MENU'SMRITI, or “what is remembered from MENU,” that of YA'JNYAWALCYA, and those of sixteen other *Muni's*, with *Commentaries* on them all, consists of many tracts in high estimation, among which those current in *Bengal* are, an excellent treatise on *Inheritances* by JI'MU'TA VA'HANA, and a complete *Digest*, in twenty-seven volumes, compiled a few centuries ago by RAGHUNANDAN, the TRIBONIAN of *India*, whose work is the grand repository of all that can be known on a subject so curious in itself, and so interesting to the *British Government*.

Of the Philosophical Schools it will be sufficient here to remark, that the first *Nyáya* seems

analogous to the *Peripatetick*, the *second*, sometimes called *Vais'ēshica*, to the *Ionick*, the two *Mimānsā's*, of which the *second* is often distinguished by the name of *Vēdānta*, to the *Platonick*, the first *Sānc'hyā* to the *Italick*, and the *second*, or *Pātanjala*, to the *Stoick*, Philosophy; so that **GAUTAMA** corresponds with **ARISTOTLE**; **CANA'DA**, with **THALES**; **JAIMINI** with **SOCRATES**; **VYĀSA** with **PLATO**; **CAPILA** with **PYTHAGORAS**; **PATANJALI** with **ZENO**: but an accurate comparison between the *Grecian* and *Indian* Schools would require a considerable volume. The original works of those Philosophers are very succinct; but, like all the other *Sāfras*, they are explained, or obscured, by the *Upaderśana* or *Commentaries* without end: one of the finest compositions on the Philosophy of the *Vēdānta* is entitled *Yōga Vāsiṣṭha*, and contains the instructions of the great **VASISHTHA** to his pupil, **RA'MA**, king of *Ayōdhya*.

It results from this analysis of *Hindu Literature*, that the *Vēda*, *Upavēda*, *Vēdāṅga*, *Purāna*, *Dherma*, and *Ders'ana* are the *Six* great *Sāfras*, in which all knowledge, divine and human, is supposed to be comprehended; and here we must not forget, that the word *Sāfrā*, derived from a root signifying *to ordain*, means generally an *Ordinance*, and particularly a *Sacred*

*Ordinance* delivered by inspiration: properly, therefore, this word is applied only to *sacred literature*, of which the text exhibits an accurate sketch.

The *Súdra's*, or fourth class of *Hindus*, are not permitted to study the six proper *Sástra's* before-enumerated; but an ample field remains for them in the study of *profane literature*, comprised in a multitude of *popular books*, which correspond with the several *Sástra's*, and abound with beauties of every kind. All the tracts on *Medicine* must, indeed, be studied by the *Vaidya's*, or those, who are born Physicians; and they have often more learning, with far less pride, than any of the *Bráhmans*: they are usually Poets, Grammarians, Rhetoricians, Moralists; and may be esteemed in general the most virtuous and amiable of the *Hindus*. Instead of the *Véda's* they study the *Rájaníti*, or *Instruction of Princes*, and instead of *Law*, the *Nítisástra*, or general system of *Ethicks*: their *Sabitia*, or *Cávya Sástra*, consists of innumerable poems, written chiefly by the *Medical tribe*, and supplying the place of the *Purána's*, since they contain all the stories of the *Rámáyana*, *Bhárata*, and *Bhágawata*: they have access to many treatises of *Alancára*, or Rhetorick, with a variety of works in modulated prose; to *Upác'hyána*, or Civil History, called also *Rája-*

*tarangini*; to the *Nātaca*, which answers to the *Gāndharvavēda*, consisting of regular Dramatick pieces in *Sanscrit* and *Prākrit*: besides which they commonly get by heart some entire Dictionary and Grammar. The best Lexicon or Vocabulary was composed in verse, for the assistance of the memory, by the illustrious AMARASINHA; but there are seventeen others in great repute: the best Grammar is the *Mugdhabódha*, or the *Beauty of Knowledge*, written by Góswámi, named VO'PADE'VA, and comprehending, in two hundred short pages, all that a learner of the language can have occasion to know. To the *Cósha's*, or dictionaries, are usually annexed very ample *Ticá's*, or *Etymological Commentaries*.

We need say no more of the heterodox writings, than that those on the religion and philosophy of BUDDHA seem to be connected with some of the most curious parts of *Afiatick History*, and contain, perhaps, all that could be found in the *Pálí*, or *sacred language* of the Eastern *Indian* peninsula. It is asserted in *Bengal*, that AMARASINHA himself was a *Bauddha*; but he seems to have been a theist of tolerant principles, and, like ABU'LFAZL, desirous of reconciling the different religions of *India*.

Wherever we direct our attention to *Hindu Literature*, the notion of *infinity* presents itself;

and the longest life would not be sufficient for the perusal of near five hundred thousand stanzas in the *Purána's*, with a million more perhaps in the other works before mentioned : we may, however, select the best from each *Sástra*, and gather the fruits of science, without loading ourselves with the leaves and branches ; while we have the pleasure to find, that the learned *Hindus*, encouraged by the mildness of our government and manners, are at least as eager to communicate their knowledge of all kinds, as we can be to receive it. Since *Europeans* are indebted to the *Dutch* for almost all they know of *Arabick*, and to the *French* for all they know of *Chineſe*, let them now receive from our nation the first accurate knowledge of *Sanskrit*, and of the valuable works composed in it ; but, if they wish to form a correct idea of *Indian* religion and literature, let them begin with forgetting all that has been written on the subject, by ancients or moderns, before the publication of the *Gítà*.

ON

THE SECOND CLASSICAL BOOK  
*OF THE CHINESE.*

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

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THE vicinity of *China* to our *Indian* territories, from the capital of which there are not more than *six hundred miles* to the province of *YU'NA'N*, must necessarily draw our attention to that most ancient and wonderful Empire, even if we had no commercial intercourse with its more distant and maritime provinces ; and the benefits, that might be derived from a more intimate connexion with a nation long famed for their useful arts, and for the valuable productions of their country, are too apparent to require any proof or illustration. My own inclinations and the course of my studies lead me rather to consider at present their *laws*, *politicks*, and *moral*s, with which their general literature is closely blended, than their manufactures and trade ; nor will I spare either pains or expense

to procure translations of their most approved *law-tracts*; that I may return to *Europe* with distinct ideas, drawn from the fountain-head, of the wisest *Asiatick* legislation. It will probably be a long time before accurate returns can be made to my inquiries concerning the *Chinese Laws*; and, in the interval, the Society will not, perhaps, be displeased to know, that a translation of a most venerable and excellent work may be expected from *Canton* through the kind assistance of an inestimable correspondent.

According to a *Chinese* Writer, named LI YANG PING, ‘the ancient characters used in his country were the outlines of visible objects earthly and celestial; but, as things merely intellectual could not be expressed by those figures, the grammarians of *China* contrived to represent the various operations of the mind by metaphors drawn from the productions of nature; thus the idea of roughness and of rotundity, of motion and rest, were conveyed to the eye by signs representing a mountain, the sky, a river and the earth; the figures of the sun, the moon, and the stars, differently combined, stood for smoothness and splendour, for any thing artfully wrought, or woven with delicate workmanship; extension, growth, increase, and many other qualities

‘ were painted in characters taken from clouds, from the firmament, and from the vegetable part of the creation ; the different ways of moving, agility and flowness, idleness and diligence, were expressed by various insects, birds, fish, and quadrupeds : in this manner passions and sentiments were traced by the pencil, and ideas not subject to any sense were exhibited to the sight ; until by degrees new combinations were invented, new expressions added ; the characters deviated imperceptibly from their primitive shape, and the *Chinese* language became not only clear and forcible, but rich and elegant in the highest degree.’

In this language, so ancient and so wonderfully composed, are a multitude of books, abounding in useful, as well as agreeable, knowledge ; but the highest class consists of *Five* works, one of which at least every *Chinese*, who aspires to literary honours, must read again and again, until he possess it perfectly.

The *first* is purely *Historical*, containing annals of the empire from the *two-thousand-three hundred-thirty-seventh* year before CHRIST : it is entitled *SHU'KING*, and a version of it has been published in *France* ; to which country we are indebted for the most authentick and most valuable specimens of *Chinese* History and Literature, from the compositions, which pre-

eeded those of HOMER, to the poetical works of the present Emperor, who seems to be a man of the brightest genius and the most amiable affections. We may smile, if we please, at the levity of the *French*, as they laugh without scruple at our seriousness ; but let us not so far undervalue our rivals in arts and in arms, as to deny them their just commendation, or to relax our efforts in that noble struggle, by which alone we can preserve our own eminence.

The Second Classical work of the *Chinese* contains *three hundred* Odes, or short poems, in praise of ancient sovereigns and legislators, or descriptive of ancient manners, and recommending an imitation of them in the discharge of all publick and domestic duties : they abound in wise maxims, and excellent precepts, ‘ their whole doctrine, according to *Cun-fu-tsü*, in ‘ the *Lu'nyü*’ or *Moral Discourses*, being reducible to this grand rule, that we should not even entertain a thought of any thing base or culpable ;’ but the copies of the *SHI' KING*, for that is the title of the book, are supposed to have been much disfigured, since the time of that great Philosopher, by spurious passages and exceptionable interpolations ; and the style of the Poems is in some parts too metaphorical, while the brevity of other parts renders them obscure, though many think even this obscurity

sublime and venerable, like that of ancient cloysters and temples, ‘*Shedding*, as MILTON expresses it, *a dim religious light.*’ There is another passage in the LU’NYU’, which deserves to be set down at length: ‘Why, my sons, do you not study the book of Odes? If we creep on the ground, if we lie useless and inglorious, those poems will raise us to true glory; in them we see, as in a mirror, what may best become us, and what will be unbecoming; by their influence we shall be made social, affable, benevolent; for, as musick combines sounds in just melody, so the ancient poetry tempers and composes our passions: the Odes teach us our duty to our parents at home, and abroad to our prince; they instruct us also delightfully in the various productions of nature.’ ‘Hast thou studied, said the Philosopher to his son PEYU, the first of the three hundred Odes on the nuptials of Prince VE’NVAM, and the virtuous TAI JIN? He, who studies them not, resembles a man with his face against a wall, unable to advance a step in virtue and wisdom.’ Most of those Odes are near *three thousand* years old, and some, if we give credit to the Chinese annals, considerably older; but others are somewhat more recent, having been composed under the later Emperors of the *third* family, called SHEU. The work

is printed in *four* volumes ; and, towards the end of the *first*, we find the Ode, which COUPLET has accurately translated at the beginning of the TA' HIO, or *Great Science*, where it is finely amplified by the Philosopher : I produce the original from the SHI' KING itself, and from the book, in which it is cited, together with a double version, one verbal and another metrical ; the only method of doing justice to the poetical compositions of the *Afaticks*. It is a panegyrick on VUCU'N, Prince of *Guey* in the province of *Honang*, who died, near a century old, in the *thirteenth* year of the Emperor PING-VANG, *seven hundred and fifty-six years* before the birth of CHRIST, or *one hundred and forty-eight*, according to Sir ISAAC NEWTON, after the taking of *Troy*, so that the Chinese Poet might have been contemporary with HESIOD and HOMER, or at least must have written the Ode before the *Iliad* and *Odysssey* were carried into *Greece* by LYCURGUS.

The verbal translation of the thirty-two original characters is this :

- Behold <sup>1</sup> yon <sup>2</sup> reach of <sup>4</sup> the river <sup>3</sup> KI ;
- Its <sup>5</sup> green <sup>6</sup> reeds how <sup>7</sup> luxuriant ! how <sup>8</sup> luxuriant !
- Thus <sup>9</sup> is our <sup>11</sup> Prince <sup>12</sup> adorned with <sup>10</sup> virtues ;
- As a carver, <sup>13</sup> as a filer, <sup>15</sup> of ivory,

- \* As a cutter, as a polisher, of gems.  
 \* O how elate and sagacious ! O how dauntless and composed  
 \* How worthy of fame ! How worthy of reverence !  
 \* We have a Prince adorned with virtues,  
 \* Whom to the end of time we can not forget.

## THE PARAPHRASE.

Behold, where yon blue riv'let glides  
 Along the laughing dale ;  
 Light reeds bedeck its verdant sides,  
 And frolick in the gale :

So shines our Prince ! In bright array  
 The Virtues round him wait ;  
 And sweetly smil'd th' auspicious day,  
 That rais'd Him o'er our State.

As pliant hands in shapes refin'd  
 Rich iv'ry carve and smoothe,  
 His Laws thus mould each ductile mind,  
 And every passion soothe.

As gems are taught by patient art  
 In sparkling ranks to beam,  
 With Manners thus he forms the heart,  
 And spreads a gen'ral gleam.

What soft, yet awful, dignity !  
 What meek, yet manly, grace !  
 What sweetness dances in his eye,  
 And blossoms in his face !

So shines our Prince ! A sky-born crowd  
 Of Virtues round him blaze :  
 Ne'er shall Oblivion's murky cloud  
 Obscure his deathless praise.

瞻彼淇澳淇：水名。澳：水岸。菉葍菉：通“菉”，草木茂盛貌。葍：通“蓀”，竹子。猗猗  
有斐君子斐：通“斐”，文采斐然。如切如磋  
如琢如磨瑟瑟：通“瑟”，形容研磨时发出的声音。瑟瑟兮兮：语气词，表示赞叹。間兮  
赫兮喧兮赫：通“赫”，光明貌。喧：通“咺”，盛大貌。有斐君子  
終不可誼

C. C. Chinese Ode.

The prediction of the Poet has hitherto been accomplished ; but he little imagined, that his composition would be admired, and his Prince celebrated in a language not then formed, and by the natives of regions so remote from his own.

In the *tenth* leaf of the TA' HIO a beautiful comparison is quoted from another Ode in the SHI' KING, which deserves to be exhibited in the same form with the preceding :

‘ The peach-tree, how fair ! how graceful !  
 ‘ Its leaves, how blooming ! how pleasant !  
 ‘ Such is a bride, when she enters her bridegroom’s house,  
 ‘ And pays due attention to her whole family.’

The simile may thus be rendered :

Gay child of Spring, the garden’s queen,  
 Yon peach-tree charms the roving sight :  
 Its fragrant leaves how richly green !  
 Its blossoms how divinely bright !

So softly smiles the blooming bride  
 By love and conscious Virtue led  
 O’er her new mansion to preside,  
 And placid joys around her spread.

The next leaf exhibits a comparison of a different nature, rather sublime than agreeable, and conveying rather censure than praise :

1                    2     3                    4  
 O how horridly impends yon southern mountain !  
 5     6                    7     8  
 Its rocks in how vast, how rude a heap !  
 9                    10                    11                    12  
 Thus loftily thou fittest, O minister of YN ;  
 13                    14                    15                    16  
 All the people look up to thee with dread.

Which may be thus paraphrased :

See, where yon crag's imperious height  
 The sunny highland crowns,  
 And, hideous as the brow of night,  
 Above the torrent frowns !

So scowls the Chief, whose will is law,  
 Regardles of our state ;  
 While millions gaze with painful awe,  
 With fear allied to hate.

It was a very ancient practice in *China* to paint or engrave moral sentences and approved verses on vessels in constant use ; as the words RENEW THYSELF DAILY were inscribed on the bason of the Emperor TANG, and the poem of KIEN LONG, who is now on the throne, in praise of Tea, has been published on a set of porcelain cups ; and, if the description just cited of a selfish and insolent statesman were, in the same manner, constantly presented to the eyes and attention of rulers, it might produce some benefit to their subjects and to themselves ; especially if the comment of TSEM TSU, who may be called the XENOPHON, as CUN FU'

Tsu' was the SOCRATES, and Mem Tsu the PLATO, of *China*, were added to illustrate and enforce it.

If the rest of the *three hundred* Odes be similar to the specimens adduced by those great moralists in their works which the *French* have made publick, I should be very solicitous to procure our nation the honour of bringing to light the *second* Classical book of the *Chinese*. The *third*, called YEKING, or the book of Changes, believed to have been written by Fo, the HERMES of the East, and consisting of right lines variously disposed, is hardly intelligible to the most learned *Mandarins*; and CUN Fu' Tsu' himself, who was prevented by death from accomplishing his design of elucidating it, was dissatisfied with all the interpretations of the earliest commentators. As to the *fifth*, or LIKI, which that excellent man compiled from old monuments, it consists chiefly of the *Chinese* ritual, and of tracts on Moral Duties; but the *fourth* entitled CHUNG CIEU, or *Spring* and *Autumn*, by which the same incomparable writer meant the *flourishing* state of an Empire, under a virtuous monarch, and the *fall* of kingdoms, under bad governors, must be an interesting work in every nation. The powers, however, of an indi-

vidual are so limited, and the field of knowledge is so vast, that I dare not promise more, than to procure, if any exertions of mine will avail, a complete translation of the SHI' KING, together with an authentick abridgement of the *Chinese Laws*, civil and criminal. A native of *Canton*, whom I knew some years ago in *England*, and who passed his first examinations with credit in his way to literary distinctions, but was afterwards allured from the pursuit of learning by a prospect of success in trade, has favoured me with the *Three Hundred Odes* in the original, together with the LU'N YU', a faithful version of which was published at *Paris* near a century ago ; but he seems to think, that it would require three or four years to complete a translation of them ; and Mr. Cox informs me, that none of the *Chinese*, to whom he has access, possess leisure and perseverance enough for such a task ; yet he hopes, with the assistance of WHANG ATONG, to send me next season some of the poems translated into *English*. A little encouragement would induce this young *Chinese* to visit *India*, and some of his countrymen would, perhaps, accompany him ; but, though considerable advantage to the publick, as well as to letters, might be reaped from the knowledge and ingenuity of

Such emigrants, yet we must wait for a time of greater national wealth and prosperity, before such a measure can be formally recommended by us to our patrons at the helm of government.

THE

## LUNAR YEAR OF THE HINDUS.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

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HAVING lately met by accident with a wonderfully curious tract of the learned and celebrated RAGHUNANDANA, containing a full account of all the rites and ceremonies in the lunar year, I twice perused it with eagerness, and present the Society with a correct outline of it, in the form of a calendar, illustrated with short notes: the many passages quoted in it from the *Védas*, the *Puráñas*, the *Sástras* of law and astronomy, the *Calpa*, or sacred ritual, and other works of immemorial antiquity and reputed holiness, would be thought highly interesting by such as take pleasure in researches concerning the *Hindus*; but a translation of them all would fill a considerable volume, and such only are exhibited as appeared most distinguished for elegance or novelty.

The lunar year of three hundred and sixty days, is apparently more ancient in India than the solar, and began, as we may infer from a verse in the *Mátsya*, with the month *A'swin*, so called, because the moon was at the full, when that name was imposed, in the first lunar station of the *Hindu* ecliptick, the origin of which being diametrically opposite to the bright star *Chitrà*, may be ascertained in our sphere with exactness ; but, although most of the *Indian* fasts and festivals be regulated by the days of the moon, yet the most solemn and remarkable of them have a manifest reference to the supposed motions of the sun ; the *Durgotsava* and *Hólica* relating as clearly to the autumnal and vernal equinoxes, as the sleep and rise of *VISHNU* relate to the solstices : the *Sancrántis*, or days on which the sun enters a new sign, especially those of *Tulá* and *Mésha*, are great festivals of the solar year, which anciently began with *Pausha* near the winter solstice, whence the month *Márgas'irsha* has the name of *A'graháyana*, or *the year is next before*. The twelve months, now denominated from as many stations of the moon, seem to have been formerly peculiar to the lunar year ; for the old solar months, beginning with *Chaitra*, have the following very different names in a curious text of the *Véda* on the order of the six *Indian* seasons ; *Madhu*,

*Mádhava, Sucra, Suchi, Nabhas, Nabhasya, Ijja, Urja, Sabas, Sabasya, Tapas, Tapasya.* It is necessary to premise, that the *muc'hya chandra*, or primary lunar month, ends with the conjunction and the *gauna chandra*, or secondary, with the opposition: both modes of reckoning are authorized by the several *Puráñas*; but, although the astronomers of *Cási* have adopted the *gauna* month, and place in *Bhádra* the birth-day of their pastoral god, the *muc'hya* is here preferred, because it is generally used in this province, and especially at the ancient seminary of *Brábmens* at *Máyápur*, now called *Navadwípa*, because a new island has been formed by the *Ganges* on the site of the old academy. The *Hindus* define a *tit'bi*, or lunar day, to be the time in which the moon passes through twelve degrees of her path, and to each *pacsha*, or half month, they allot fifteen *tit'bis*, though they divide the moon's orb into sixteen phases, named *Calás*, one of which they suppose constant, and compare to the string of a necklace or chaplet, round which are placed moveable gems and flowers: the *Mahácalá* is the day of the conjunction, called *Amá*, or *Amávásyá*, and defined by *GOBHILA*, the day of the nearest approach to the sun; on which obsequies are performed to the manes of the *Pitríś*, or certain progenitors of the human race,

to whom the *darker* fortnight is peculiarly sacred. Many subtle points are discussed by my author concerning the junction of two or even three lunar days in forming one fast or festival; but such a detail can be useful only to the *Bráhmens*, who could not guide their flocks, the *Raja* of *Crishnanagar* assures me, without the assistance of RAGHUNANDAN. So fond are the *Hindus* of mythological personifications, that they represent each of the thirty *tit'his* as a beautiful nymph; and the *Gáyatrítantra*, of which *Sannyásî* made me a present, though he considered it as the holiest book after the *Véda*, contains flowery descriptions of each nymph, much resembling the delineations of the thirty *Ráginis*, in the treatises on *Indian* musick.

In what manner the *Hindus* contrive so far to reconcile the lunar and solar years, as to make them proceed concurrently in their ephemerides, might easily have been shown by exhibiting a version of the *Nadíya* or *Varánes* almanack; but their modes of intercalation form no part of my present subject, and would injure the simplicity of my work, without throwing any light on the religion of the *Hindus*. The following tables have been very diligently compared by myself with two *Sanskrit* almanacks, with a superficial chapter in the work of ABU'L-FAZL, and with a list of *Indian* holidays pub-

lished at *Calcutta*; in which there are nine or ten fasts, called *Jayantis*, distinguished chiefly by the titles of the *Avatáras*, and twelve or thirteen days marked as the beginnings of as many *Calpas*, or very long periods, an hundred of which constitute BRAHMA's age; but having found no authority for those holidays, I have omitted them: some festivals, however, or fasts, which are passed over in silence by RAGHUNANDAN, are here printed in *Italick* letters; because they may be mentioned in other books, and kept holy in other provinces or by particular sects. I cannot refrain from adding, that *human sacrifices* were anciently made on the *Mahanavamí*; and it is declared in the *Bhavishya Purána*, that *the head of a slaughtered man gives DURGA a thousand times more satisfaction than that of a buffalo*:

*Náréna s'irasà víra pújítà vidhiwannípa,  
tríptá bharwéd bhrís'am Durgà verśhani lacshamévacha.*

But in the *Brábma* every *neramédba*, or sacrifice of a man, is expressly forbidden; and in the fifth book of the *Bhágawat* are the following emphatical words: “*Yé twiha vai purusháb pu-*  
“*rushamédbéna yajanté, yáscha śriyó nrípasún*  
“*c'kádanti, táscha táscha tè pasava iba nibatà,*  
“*yama sádanè yátayantò, racshögana saunicá*  
“*iva sudrittiná 'vadáyasric pivanti;*” that is,

“ Whatever men in this world sacrifice human victims, and, whatever women eat the flesh of male cattle, those men and those women shall the animals here slain torment in the mansion of YAMA, and, like slaughtering giants, having cleaved their limbs with axes, shall quaff their blood.” It may seem strange, that a *human sacrifice* by a man should be no greater crime than eating the flesh of a male beast by a woman; but it is held a mortal offence to kill any creature, except for sacrifice, and none but males must ever be sacrificed, nor must women, except after the performance of a *srāddha* by their husbands, taste the flesh even of victims. Many strange ceremonies at the *Durgotsava* still subsist among the *Hindus* both male and female, an account of which might elucidate some very obscure parts of the *Mosaick* law; but this is not a place for such disquisitions. The ceremony of *swinging* with iron hooks through the muscles, on the day of the *Cherec*, was introduced, as I am credibly informed, in modern times, by a superstitious prince, named *Vána*, who was a *Saiva* of the most austere sect: but the custom is bitterly censured by learned *Hindus*, and the day is, therefore, omitted in the following abridgement of the *Tit'bi tatwa*.

## A'sWINA.

I. Navarátrícam. *a.*

II.

III. Acshayá. *b.*

IV.

V. Sáyam-adhivása. *c.*

VI. Shaftyádicalpa bódhanam. *d.*

VII. Patricá-pravésa. *e.*

VIII. Maháshtámi sandhipújà.

IX. Mahánavamì. *f.* Manwantará. *g.*

X. Vijaya. *b.*

XI.

XII.

XIII.

XIV.

XV. A'swiní Cójágara. *i.*

*a.* By some the first *nine nights* are allotted to the decoration of DURGA' with ceremonies peculiar to each. *Bbawisbyóttara.*

*b.* When certain days of the moon fall on certain days of the week, they are called *ac-shayás*, or *unperishable*.

*c.* The evening preparation for her dres.

*d.* On this day she is commonly awakened, and her festival begins. *Dévi-purána.*

*e.* She is invited to a bower of *leaves* from *nine* plants, of which the *Bilva* is the chief.

*f.* The last of the three great days. “The sacrificed beasts must be killed at one blow “with a broad sword or a sharp axe.”

*Cálicúpurána.*

*g.* The fourteen days, named *Manwantárdas*, are supposed to be the first of as many very long periods, each of which was the reign of a MENU: they are all placed according to the *Bhávishya* and *Mátsya*.

*b.* The goddess dismissed with reverence, and her image cast into the river, but without *Mantras*.

*Baudháyana.*

*i.* On this full moon the fiend NICUMBHA led his army against DURGA'; and LACSHMI descended, promising wealth to those *who were awake*: hence the night is passed in playing at ancient chess. CUVE'RA also and INDRA are worshipped.

*Lainga and Brábma.*

**ASWINA:**  
or *Cártica.*

- I.
- II.
- III.
- IV.
- V.
- VI.
- VII.
- VIII. Dagdhá. *a.*
- IX.
- X.
- XI.
- XII.
- XIII.
- XIV. Bhútachaturdasì Yamaterpanam. *b.*
- XV. Lacshmípujá dípánwitá. *c.* Syámápujá.  
Ulcádánam. *d.*

*a.* The days called *dagdba*, or *burnt*, are variable, and depend on some inauspicious conjunctions. *Vidyá-síromani.*

*b.* Bathing and libations to YAMA, regent of the south or the lower world, and judge of departed spirits. *Lainga.*

*c.* A fast all day, and a great festival at night, in honour of LACSHMI, with illuminations on trees and houses: invocations are made at the same time to CUVE'RA. *Rudra-dbera.*

“ On this night, when the Gods, having  
 “ been delivered by CE'SAVA, were slumbering  
 “ on the rocks, that bounded the sea of milk,  
 “ LACSHMI, no longer fearing the *Daityas*, slept  
 “ apart on a lotos.” Bráhma.

*d.* Flowers are also offered on this day to  
 SYA'M'A, or the black, an epithet of BHAVA'NI,  
 who appears in the *Calijug*, as a *damsel twelve  
 years old.* Váránasi Panjicá.

Torches and flaming brands are kindled and  
 consecrated, to burn the bodies of kinsmen, who  
 may be dead in battle or in a foreign country,  
 and to light them through the shades of death  
 to the mansion of YAMA. Bráhma.

These rites bear a striking resemblance to  
 those of CERES and PROSERPINE.

## CÁRTICA.

I. Dyúta pratipat. *a.* Belipújá. *b.*

II. Bhrátri dwitíyá. *c.*

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII. Acshayá.

VIII. Gólsht'háshtamí. *d.*

IX. Durgá navamí. *e.* Yugádyá. *f.*

X.

XI. Utt'hánaicádasí. *g.* *Baca panchacam.*

XII. Manwantará.

XIII.

XIV. Sriberérutt'hánam.

XV. Cárticí. Manwantará. Dánámávafyacam. *b.*

*a.* MAHA'DE'VA was beaten on this day at a game of chance by PARVATI': hence games of chance are allowed in the morning; and the winner expects a fortunate year. *Bráhma.*

*b.* A nightly festival, with illuminations and offerings of flowers, in honour of the ancient king BELI. *Vámena.*

*c.* YAMA, child of the Sun, was entertained on this lunar day by the river-goddes YAMUNA', his younger sister: hence the day is

sacred to them both ; and sisters give entertainments to their brothers, who make presents in return.

*Lainga Mahábhárata.*

*d.* Cows are on this day to be fed, caressed, and attended in their pastures ; and the *Hindus* are to walk round them with ceremony, keeping them always to the right hand.

*Bhíma parácráma.*

*e.* “ To eat nothing but dry rice on this day of the moon for nine successive years, will secure the favour of DURGA.” *Cálicá purána.*

*f.* The first day of the *Trétá Yuga.*

*Vaishnava. Brábma.*

*g.* VISHNU rises on this day, and in some years on the *fourteenth*, from his slumber of four months. He is waked by this incantation : “ The clouds are dispersed ; the full moon will appear in perfect brightness ; and I come, in hope of acquiring purity, to offer the fresh flowers of the season : awake from thy long slumber, awake, O Lord of all worlds !”

*Várába. Mátysa.*

The Lord of all worlds neither slumbers nor sleeps.

A strict fast is observed on the *eleventh* ; and even the *Baca*, a water-bird, abstains, it is said, from his usual food.

*Vidyá siromani.*

*b.* Gifts to *Bráhmens* are indispensably necessary on this day.

*Rámáyana.*

**CARTICA:**  
or *Márgasírsha.*

- I.
- II.
- III.
- IV.
- V.
- VI.
- VII.
- VIII.
- IX.
- X.
- XI.
- XII.
- XIII.
- XIV. Acshayá.
- XV. Gósfahasrí. *a.*

*a.* Bathing in the *Gangá*, and other appointed ceremonies, on this day will be equally rewarded with a gift of a thousand cows to the *Bráhmens*.

*Vyása.*

## MĀRGASĪRSHA.

I.

II.

III.

IV.

V.

VI. Guha shashtí. *a.*VII. *Mitra septamí, b.* Navánnam.

VIII. Navánnam.

IX.

X.

XI.

XII. *Ac'bandá dwádaśi.* Navánnam.

XIII.

XIV. Páshána chaturdasi. *c.*

XV. Márugasírshi. Navánnam.

*a.* Sacred to SCANDA, or CÁRTICE'YA,  
God of Arms. *Bhawisjya.*

*b.* In honour of the Sun. *Navánnám* signifies *new grain*, oblations of which are made on any of the days to which the word is annexed.

*c.* GAURI' to be worshipped at night, and cakes of rice to be eaten in the form of *large pebbles.* *Bhawisjya.*

MA'RGAŚI'RSHA :  
or *Pauṣha*.

- I.
- II.
- III.
- IV.
- V.
- VI.
- VII.
- VIII. Púpásh tacá. a.
- IX. *Dagdbá*.
- X.
- XI.
- XII.
- XIII.
- XIV.
- XV.

a. Cakes of rice are offered on this day,  
which is also called *Aindri*, from INDRA, to the  
Manes of ancestors.                                   Góbbila.

## PAUSHA.

- I. The *morning* of the Gods, or beginning of the old *Hindu* year.
- II. *Dagdbá.*
- III.
- IV.
- V.
- VI.
- VII.
- VIII.
- IX.
- X.
- XI. *Manwantará.*
- XII.
- XIII.
- XIV.
- XV. *Paushi.*

PAUSHA :  
or *Mágba*.

- I.
- II.
- III.
- IV.
- V.
- VI.
- VII.
- VIII. Mánsáshtacá. *a.*
- IX.
- X.
- XI.
- XII.
- XIII.
- XIV. Rátantí, or the waters *speak*. *b.*
- XV.

*a.* On this day, called also *Prájápatyá*, from *Prajápati*, or the Lord of Creatures, the flesh of male kids or wild deer is offered to the Manes. *Góbbila.*

“ On the eighth lunar day, ICSHWÁ’CU spoke thus to his son VICUCSHÍ: Go, robust youth, and having slain a male deer, bring his flesh for the funeral oblation.” *Herivans'a.*

*b.* Bathing at the first appearance of ARUNA, or the dawn. *Yama.*

## MAGHA.

I.

II.

III.

IV. Varadá chaturthí. Gaurípújá. *a.*V. Srí panchamí. *b.*

VI.

VII. Bháscara septamí. *c.* Mácarí. Manwantará.VIII. Bhíshmáshtamí. *d.*

IX. Mahánandá.

X.

XI. Bhaimí. *e.*XII. Sháttiladánam. *f.*

XIII.

XIV.

XV. Mágdí. Yugádyà. *g.* Dánamávafy-acam.

*a.* The worship of GAURI, surnamed *Varadá*, or *granting boons*. *Bhawijhyottara.*

*b.* On this lunar day SARASWATI, here called SRÍ, the goddess of arts and eloquence, is worshipped with offerings of perfumes, flowers, and dressed rice: even the implements of writing and books are treated with respect and not used on this holiday. *Samvatsara pradipa.*

*A Meditation on SARASWATI.*

‘ May the goddess of speech enable us to

‘ attain all possible felicity; she, who wears on  
 ‘ her locks a young moon, who shines with ex-  
 ‘ quisite lustre, whose body bends with the  
 ‘ weight of her full breasts, who sits reclined on  
 ‘ a white lotos, and from the crimson lotos of  
 ‘ her hands pours radiance on the instruments  
 ‘ of writing, and on the books produced by her  
 ‘ favour !’

*Sáradá tilaca.*

c. A fast in honour of the Sun, as a form of  
**VISHNU.** *Váráha purána.*

It is called also *Mácarì* from the constellation  
 of *Macara*, into which the Sun enters on the  
 first of the solar *Mágha*. *Critya calpa taru.*

This day has also the names of *Rat'byá* and  
*Rat'ha septamì*, because it was the beginning of  
 a *Manwantará*, when a new Sun ascended his  
 car. *Nárañña. Mátṣya.*

d. A libation of holy water is offered by all  
 the four classes to the Manes of the valiant and  
 pious **BHI'SHMA**, son of **GANGA'**.

*Bhawishyottara.*

e. Ceremonies with *tila*, or *sesamum*, in ho-  
 nour of **BHI'MA**. *Vishnu dherma.*

f. *Tila* offered in six different modes.

*Mátṣya.*

g. The first day of the *Caliyuga*. *Brábma.*

MA'GHA:  
or *P'hálguna*.

- I.
- II.
- III.
- IV.
- V.
- VI.
- VII.
- VIII. Sácásh tacá. *a.*
- IX.
- X.
- XI.
- XII.
- XIII.
- XIV. Siva ratri. *b.*
- XV.

*a.* Green vegetables are offered on this day to the Manes of ancestors: it is called also *Vaiswédévisci* from the *Vaiswédéváh*, or certain paternal progenitors. *Góbbila.*

*b.* A rigorous fast, with extraordinary ceremonies in honour of the *Sivalinga* or Phallus.

*Íśána sambitá.*

## P'HÁLGUNA.

- I.
- II.
- III.
- IV. *Dagdhá.*
- V.
- VI.
- VII.
- VIII.
- IX.
- X.
- XI.
- XII. Góvinda dwádasi. *a.*
- XIII.
- XIV.
- XV. P'hálguní. Manwantará. Dóláyátrá. *b.*

*a.* Bathing in the *Gangá* for the remission of mortal sins. *Pádma.*

*b.* *Hólicà*, or *P'halgútfava*, vulgarly *Húlì*, the great festival on the approach of the vernal equinox.

Kings and people *sport* on this day in honour of *Góvinda*, who is carried in a *dólà*, or palanquin. *Brábma. Scánda.*

P'HA'LGUNA:  
or *Chaitra.*

- I.
- II.
- III.
- IV.
- V.
- VI.
- VII.
- VIII. *Sítalá pújá.*
- IX.
- X.
- XI.
- XII.
- XIII. *Maháváruni?*
- XIV.
- XV. Mauni. a. Acshayá. Manwantará.  
  
a. Bathing in *silence.*      *Vyása.*    *Scánda.*

## CHAITRA.

I. The *lunisolar* year of VÍCRAṂA'DITYÁ begins.

II.

III. Manwantará.

IV.

V.

VI. Scanda-shashti. *a.*

VII.

VIII. Asócashtamí. *b.*

IX. Srírama-navamí. *c.*

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII. Madana-trayódasi. *d.*

XIV. Madana-chaturdasi. *e.*

XV. Chaitrí. Manwantará.

*a.* Sacred to CA'RТИCE'YA, the God of War.

*Dévi-purána.*

*b.* Men and women of all classes ought to bathe in some holy stream, and, if possible, in the *Brahmaputra*: they should also drink water with buds of the *Asóca* floating on it. *Scánda.*

*c.* The birthday of RA'MA CHANDRA. Ceremonies are to be performed with the mystical stone *Sálagráma* and leaves of *Tulasí*. *Agastya.*

*d.* A festival in honour of CA'MA DE'VA,  
God of Love. *Bhawijhya.*

*e.* The same continued with musick and  
bathing. *Saurágama. Dévala.*

### The Hymn to CA'MA.

1. Hail, God of the flowery bow ; hail, warriour with a fish on thy banner ; hail, powerful divinity, who causest the firmness of the sage to forsake him, and subduest the guardian deities of eight regions !

2. O CANDARPA, thou son of MA'DHAVA ! O MA'R'A, thou foe of SAMBHARA ! Glory be given to thee, who lovest the goddess RETI; to thee, by whom all worlds are subdued; to thee, who springest from the heart !

3. Glory be to MADANA, to CA'MA; to Him, who is formed as the God of Gods; to Him, by whom BRAHMA', VISHNU, SIVA, INDRA, are filled with emotions of rapture !

4. May all my mental cares be removed, all my corporal sufferings terminate ! May the object of my soul be attained, and my felicity continue for ever ! *Bhawijhya-purána.*

CHAITRA :  
or *Vaisách'a.*

- I.
- II. *Dagdbá.*
- III.
- IV.
- V.
- VI.
- VII.
- VIII.
- IX.
- X.
- XI.
- XII.
- XIII. Váruni. *a.*
- XIV. Angáraca dinam. *b.*
- XV.

*a.* So called from *Váruna*, or the lunar constellation *Satabhishà* : when it falls on *Saturday*, it is named *Maháváruni*. Bathing by day and at night in the *Gangà*. *Scánda.*

*b.* Sacred, I believe, to the planet *Mangala*.  
 “ A branch of *Snubì* (*Euphorbia*) in a whitened  
 “ vessel, placed with a red flag on the house-  
 “ top, on the fourteenth of the dark half of  
 “ *Cbaitra*, drives away sin and disease.”

*Rája mártanda.*

## VĀISA'C'HA.

I.

II.

III. Acshaya tritíyá. *a.* Yugádyá. *b.* Parasúráma.

IV.

V.

VI. Dagdhá.

VII. Jahnū septamī.

VIII.

IX.

X.

XL.

XII. Pipítaca dwádasí. *c.*

XIII.

XIV. Nr̄iṣin̄ha cbaturdasi.

XV. Vais'ac'hí. Dánamávasyaæam.

*a.* Gifts on this day of water and grain, especially of *barley*, with oblations to CRISHNA of perfumes, and other religious rites, produce fruit *without end* in the next world.

*Scánda.* *Brábma.* *Bháwishya.*

*b.* The first day of the *Satya yuga.*

*Brábma.* *Vaishnava.*

“ Water and oil of *tila*, offered on the *Yugádyás* to the *Pitrīs*, or progenitors of mankind, “ are equal to obsequies continued for a thousand years.”

*Vishnu-purána.*

This was also the day, on which the river *Gangá* flowed from the foot of *Vishnu* down upon *Himálaya*, where she was received on the head of *Siva*, and led afterwards to the ocean by king *Bhágirat'ha*: hence adoration is now paid to *Gangá*, *Himálaya*, *Sancara*, and his mountain *Cailasa*; nor must *Bhágirat'ha* be neglected.

*Bráhma.*

c. Libations to the Manes. *Raghunandan,*

Note on p. 146.

*Dólayátra. b.*

Compare this holiday and the superstition on the *fourth* of *Bhádra* with the two *Egyptian* festivals mentioned by PLUTARCH; one called the *entrance of Osiris into the Moon*, and the other *his confinement or inclosure in an Ark*.

The people usually claim *four* other days for their sports, and sprinkle one another with a *red powder* in imitation of vernal flowers: it is commonly made with the mucilaginous root of a fragrant plant, coloured with *Bakkam*, or *Sappan*-wood, a little alum being added to extract and fix the redness.

V A I S A ' C ' H A -  
or J y a i s b i t ' h a .

- I.
- II.
- III.
- IV. Dagdhá.
- V.
- VI.
- VII.
- VIII.
- IX.
- X.
- XI.
- XII.
- XIII.
- XIV. Sávitri vratam. *a.*
- XV.

*a.* A fast, with ceremonies by women, at the roots of the Indian fig-tree, to preserve them from widowhood.

*Parásara. Rájamártanda. Critya chintámeni.*

## JYĀISHT'HĀ.

- I.
- II.
- III. Rembhá tritíyá. *a.*
- IV.
- V.
- VI. Aranya shashti. *b.*
- VII. *Acfhaya.*
- VIII.
- IX.
- X. Dasahara. *c.*
- XI. *Nirjalaicádasí. d.*
- XII.
- XIII.
- XIV. *Champaca chaturdasi. e.*
- XV. Jyaish't'hí. *Manwantará.*

*a.* On this day of the moon the *Hindu* women imitate REMBHÁ', the seaworn goddess of beauty, who bathed on the same day, with particular ceremonies. *Bhawishyóttara.*

*b.* Women walk in the *forests* with a fan in one hand, and eat certain vegetables in hope of beautiful children. *Rája mártanda.*

See the account given by PLINY of the *Druideical* mistletoe, or *viscum*, which was to be gathered, when the moon was *six* days old, as a preservative from *sterility*.

c. The word means *ten-removing*, or *removing ten sins*, an epithet of *Gangá*, who effaces *ten sins*, how heinous soever, committed in *ten previous births* by such as bathe in her waters.

*Brahma-vaiverta.*

A Couplet by SANC'HA.

“ On the tenth of *Jyaiṣṭha*, in the bright  
 “ half of the month, on the day of MANGALA,  
 “ son of the Earth, when the moon was in *Hasta*,  
 “ this daughter of JAHNU burst from the rocks,  
 “ and flowed over the land inhabited by mor-  
 “ tals : on this lunar day, therefore, she washes  
 “ off ten sins (thus have the venerable sages  
 “ declared) and gives an hundred times more  
 “ felicity, than could be attained by a myriad of  
 “ *Aswamedhas*, or *sacrifices of a horse.*”

d. A fast so strict, that even water must *not* be tasted.

e. A festival, I suppose, with the flowers of the *Champaca*.

JYĀISHT'HĀ :  
or *Aśhárha.*

**I.****II.****III.****IV.** *Dagdbá.***V.****VI.****VII.****VIII.****IX.****X.** Ambuváchí pradam. *a.***XI.****XII.****XIII.** Ambuváchí tyágah.**XIV.****XV.** Gófahasrí.

*a.* The Earth in her courses till the thirteenth.

*Jyotiṣb.*

## A'SHA'D'HÁ.

- I.
- II. Rat'ha Yátrá. *a.*
- III.
- IV.
- V.
- VI.
- VII.
- VIII.
- IX.
- X. Manwantará.
- XI. Sayanaicádasí. Rátrau s'ayanam. *b.*
- XII.
- XIII.
- XIV.
- XV. A'shárhi. Manwantará. Dánamávásy-acam.

*a.* The image of CRISHNA, in the character of Jagannát'ha, or Lord of the Universe, is borne by day in a *car*, together with those of BALARA'MA and SUBHADR'A: when the moon rises, the feast begins, but must end, as soon as it sets. *Scánda.*

*b.* The *night* of the Gods beginning with the summer solstice, VISHNU reposes four months in the serpent SE'SHA.

*Bhágavata. Mátṣya. Várába.*

A'SHA'D'HA:  
or *Srávana*.

- I.
- II.
- III.
- IV.
- V. Manasápanchamí.  $\alpha$ .
- VI. *Dagdbá*.
- VII.
- VIII. Manwantará.
- IX.
- X.
- XI.
- XII.
- XIII.
- XIV.
- XV.

$\alpha$ . In honour of *Dévi*, the goddess of nature, farnamed *Manasá*, who, while VISHNU and all the Gods were sleeping, sat in the shape of a serpent on a branch of *Snuhí*, to preserve mankind from the venom of snakes.

*Garuda. Dévipurána.*

## SRAVANA.

- I.
- II.
- III.
- IV.
- V. Nágapanchamí. *a.*
- VI.
- VII.
- VIII.
- IX.
- X.
- XI.
- XII.
- XIII.
- XIV.
- XV. Srávaní.

*a.* Sacred to the demigods in the form of *Serpents*, who are enumerated in the *Pedma*, and *Garuda, purána*s. Doors of houses are smeared with cow-dung and *Nimba*-leaves, as a preservative from poisonous reptiles.

*Bhawishya. Retnácara.*

Both in the *Pádma* and *Gáruda* we find the serpent CA'LÍYA, whom CRISHNA flew in his childhood, among the deities worshipped on this day; as the *Pythian* snake, according to CLEMENS, was adored with APOLLO at *Delphi*.

## SRA'VANA : or Bhadra.

I.

II.

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII. *Dagdbá.*VIII. Crishnajanmáshtami. *a.* Jayantí *b.*

IX.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII. Yugádyá. *c.*

XIV.

XV. Amávásyá.

*a.* The birthday of CRISHNA, son of MAHA'-MAÝ'A in the form of DE'VAC'I.

*Vas'isht'ha. Bhawishyottara.*

*b.* A strict fast from midnight. In the book, entitled *Dwaita nirnaya*, it is said that the *Jayanti yóga* happens, whenever the moon is in *Róbiní* on the eighth of any dark fortnight ; but VARA'HÁ MIHIRA confines it to the time, when the Sun is in *Sinba*. This fast, during which CHANDRA and RÓHIN'I are worshipped, is also called *Róhini vrata.* *Bráhmánda.*

*c.* The first day of the *Dwápara Yuga.*

*Bráhma.*

## BHADRA.

I.

II.

III. Manwantarā.

IV. Heritálicà. *Ganéśa chaturt'hi.* Nashta-chandra. *a.*V. *Rishi panchamì.*

VI.

VII. Acshayá lalitā. *b.*VIII. Dúrváshtamì. *c.*

IX.

X.

XI. Párswaperivertanam. *d.*XII. S'acrótt'hánam. *e.*

XIII.

XIV. Ananta vrata<sup>m</sup>. *f.*

XV. Bhádrì.

*a.* CRISHNA, falsely accused in his childhood of having stolen a gem from PRASE'NA, who had been killed by a lion, *hid himself in the moon*; to see which on the two *fourth* days of *Bhádra* is inauspicious. *Brábma. Bhójadéva.*

*b.* A ceremony, called *Cuccuti vratam*, performed by women in honour of SIVA and DURGA. *Bhawishya.*

“ “ The family of him, who performs holy rites on this lunar day, shall flourish and in-

"crease like the grafts *dúrvà*." It is the *rayed AGROSTIS.* *Bhawishyottara.*

*d.* VISHNU sleeping turns on his side.

*Mátsya.* *Bhawishya.*

*e.* Princes erect poles adorned with flowers, by way of standards, in honour of INDRA: the ceremonies are minutely described in the *Cálicá purána.*

*f.* Sacred to VISHNU with the title of ANANTA, or Infinite. *Bhawishyottara.*

BHA'DRA:  
or *A'svina.*

I. Aparapacsha. *Brabma sávitri.*

II.

III.

IV. Nashta-chandra.

V.

VI.

VII. Agastyódayah. *a.*

VIII.

IX. Bódhanam. *b.*

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII. *Magbátrayódasí fráddbam.*

XIV.

XV. Mahálayá. Amávásyá.

*a.* Three days before the sun enters the constellation of *Canyá*, let the people, who dwell in *Gaura*, offer a dish of flowers to AGASTYA.

*Brabma-vaiverta.*

Having poured water into a sea shell, let the votary fill it with white flowers and unground rice: then, turning to the south, let him offer it with this incantation: ‘ Hail, CUMBHAYO’NI, born in the sight of MITRA and VARUNA,

‘ bright as the blossom of the grass *cáśa*; thou,  
 ‘ who sprangest from AGNI and MARUTA.’  
*Cáśa* is the Spontaneous SACCHARUM.

*Nárasinba.*

This is properly a festival of the solar year, in honour of the sage AGASTYA, supposed, after his death, to preside over the star *Canopus*.

b. Some begin on this day, and continue till the *ninth* of the new moon, the great festival, called *Durgotsava*, in honour of DURGA, the goddess of nature; who is now *awakened* with sports and musick, as she was waked in the beginning by BRAHMA during the night of the Gods,

*Cálicá purána.*

Note on p. 136.

Utt'hánaicádasí. g.

In one almanack I see on this day *Tulasi-viváha*, or the Marriage of TULASI, but have no other authority for mentioning such a festival. TULASI was a Nymph beloved by KRISHNA, but transformed by him into the *Parnása*, or black *Ocymum*, which commonly bears her name.

#### GENERAL NOTE.

If the festivals of the old Greeks, Romans, Persians, Egyptians, and Goths, could be ar-

ranged with exactness in the same form with these *Indian* tables, there would be found, I am persuaded, a striking resemblance among them ; and an attentive comparison of them all might throw great light on the religion, and, perhaps, on the history, of the primitive world.

# THE MUSICAL MODES

or

## THE HINDUS:

WRITTEN IN 1784, AND SINCE MUCH ENLARGED.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

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MUSICK belongs, as a *Science*, to an interesting part of natural philosophy, which, by mathematical deductions from constant phenomena, explains the causes and properties of sound, limits the number of mixed, or *harmonick*, sounds to a certain series, which perpetually recurs, and fixes the ratio, which they bear to each other or to one leading term ; but, considered as an *Art*, it combines the sounds, which philosophy distinguishes, in such a manner as to gratify our ears, or affect our imaginations, or, by uniting both objects, to captivate the fancy while it pleases the sense, and, speaking, as it were, the language of beautiful nature, to raise correspondent ideas and emotions in the mind of the hearer : it then, and then only, becomes what we call a *fine art*, allied very nearly to

verse, painting, and rhetorick, but subordinate in its functions to pathetick poetry, and inferior in its power to genuine eloquence.

Thus it is the province of the *philosopher*, to discover the true direction and divergence of sound propagated by the successive compressions and expansions of air, as the vibrating body advances and recedes ; to show why sounds themselves may excite a tremulous motion in particular bodies, as in the known experiment of instruments tuned in unison ; to demonstrate the law, by which all the particles of air, when it undulates with great quickness, are continually accelerated and retarded ; to compare the number of pulses in agitated air with that of the vibrations, which cause them ; to compute the velocities and intervals of those pulses in atmospheres of different density and elasticity ; to account, as well as he can, for the affections, which music produces ; and, generally, to investigate the causes of the many wonderful appearances, which it exhibits : but the *artist*, without considering, and even without knowing, any of the sublime theorems in the philosophy of sound, may attain his end by a happy selection of *melodies* and *accents* adapted to passionate verse, and of *times* conformable to regular metre ; and, above all, by *modulation*, or the choice and variation of those *modes*, as they are

called, of which, as they are contrived and arranged by the *Hindus*, it is my design, and shall be my endeavour, to give you a general notion with all the perspicuity, that the subject will admit.

Although we must assign the first rank, transcendently and beyond all comparison, to that powerful musick, which may be denominated the sister of poetry and eloquence, yet the lower art of pleasing the sense by a succession of agreeable sounds, not only has merit and even charms, but may, I persuade myself, be applied on a variety of occasions to salutary purposes: whether, indeed, the sensation of hearing be caused, as many suspect, by the vibrations of an elastick ether flowing over the auditory nerves and propelled along their solid capillaments, or whether the fibres of our nerves, which seem indefinitely divisible, have, like the strings of a lute, peculiar vibrations proportioned to their length and degree of tension, we have not sufficient evidence to decide; but we are very sure, that the whole nervous system is affected in a singular manner by combinations of sound, and that melody alone will often relieve the mind, when it is oppressed by intense application to business or study. The old musician, who rather figuratively, we may suppose, than with philosophical seriousness, *declared the soul itself to be*

*nothing but harmony*, provoked the sprightly remark of CICERO, that *he drew his philosophy from the art, which he professed*; but if, without departing from his own art, he had merely described the human frame as the noblest and sweetest of musical instruments, endued with a natural disposition to resonance and sympathy, alternately affecting and affected by the soul, which pervades it, his description might, perhaps, have been physically just, and certainly ought not to have been hastily ridiculed: that any medical purpose may be fully answered by musick, I dare not assert; but after food, when the operations of digestion and absorption give so much employment to the vessels, that a temporary state of mental repose must be found, especially in hot climates, essential to health, it seems reasonable to believe, that a few agreeable airs, either heard or played without effort, must have all the good effects of sleep and none of its disadvantages; *putting the soul in tune*, as MILTON says, for any subsequent exertion; an experiment, which has often been successfully made by myself, and which any one, who pleases, may easily repeat. Of what I am going to add, I cannot give equal evidence; but hardly know how to disbelieve the testimony of men, who had no system of their own to support, and could have no interest in deceiv-

ing me: first, I have been assured by a credible eye witness, that two wild antelopes used often to come from their woods to the place, where a more savage beast, SIRAJUDDAULAH, entertained himself with concerts, and that they listened to the strains with an appearance of pleasure, till the monster, in whose soul there was no musick, shot one of them to display his archery: secondly, a learned native of this country told me, that he had frequently seen the most venomous and malignant snakes leave their holes, upon hearing tunes on a flute, which, as he supposed, gave them peculiar delight; and, thirdly, an intelligent *Persian*, who repeated his story again and again, and permitted me to write it down from his lips, declared, he had more than once been present, when a celebrated lutanist, *Mirzá MOHAMMED*, surnamed *BULBUL*, was playing to a large company in a grove near *Shíráz*, where he distinctly saw the nightingales trying to vie with the musician, sometimes warbling on the trees, sometimes fluttering from branch to branch, as if they wished to approach the instrument, whence the melody proceeded, and at length dropping on the ground in a kind of extasy, from which they were soon raised, he assured me, by a change of the mode.

The astonishing effects ascribed to musick by

the old *Greeks*, and, in our days, by the *Chinese*, *Perians*, and *Indians*, have probably been exaggerated and embellished ; nor, if such effects had been really produced, could they be imputed, I think, to the mere influence of sounds however combined or modified : it may, therefore, be suspected (not that the accounts are wholly fictitious, but) that such wonders were performed by musick in its largest sense, as it is now described by the *Hindus*, that is, by the union of *voices*, *instruments*, and *action* ; for such is the complex idea conveyed by the word *Sangīta*, the simple meaning of which is no more than *symphony* ; but most of the *Indian* books on this art consist accordingly of three parts, *gána*, *vádyā*, *nr̥ityā*, or *song*, *percussion*, and *dancing* ; the first of which comprises the measures of poetry, the second extends to instrumental musick of all sorts, and the third includes the whole compass of theatrical representation. Now it may easily be conceived, that such an alliance, with the potent auxiliaries of distinct articulation, graceful gesture, and well adapted scenery, must have a strong general effect, and may, from particular associations, operate so forcibly on very sensible minds, as to excite copious tears, change the colour and countenance, heat or chill the blood, make the heart palpitate with violence, or even compel the hearer to start from

his seat with the look, speech, and actions of a man in a phrensy: the effect must be yet stronger, if the subject be *religious*, as that of the old *Indian* dramas, both great and small (I mean both regular plays in many acts and shorter dramatick pieces on *divine love*) seems in general to have been. In this way only can we attempt to account for the indubitable effects of the *great airs* and impassioned *recitative* in the modern *Italian* dramas, where three beautiful arts, like the Graces united in a dance, are together exhibited in a state of excellence, which the ancient world could not have surpassed, and probably could not have equalled: an heroic opera of METASTASIO, set by PERGOLESI, or by some artist of his incomparable school, and represented at *Naples*, displays at once the perfection of human genius, awakens all the affections, and captivates the imagination at the same instant through all the senses.

When such aids, as a perfect theatre would afford, are not accessible, the power of musick must in proportion be less; but it will ever be very considerable, if the words of the song be fine in themselves, and not only well translated into the language of melody, with a complete union of musical and rhetorical accents, but clearly pronounced by an accomplished singer, who feels what he sings, and fully understood.

by a hearer, who has passions to be moved; especially if the composer has availed himself in his *translation* (for such may his composition very justly be called) of all those advantages, with which nature, ever sedulous to promote our innocent gratifications, abundantly supplies him. The first of those natural advantages is the variety of *modes*, or *manners*, in which the *seven* harmonick sounds are perceived to move in succession, as each of them takes the lead, and consequently bears a new relation to the six others. Next to the phenomenon of seven sounds perpetually circulating in a geometrical progression, according to the length of the strings or the number of their vibrations, every ear must be sensible, that two of the seven intervals in the complete series, or octave, whether we consider it as placed in a circular form, or in a right line with the first sound repeated, are much shorter than the five other intervals; and on these two phenomena the modes of the *Hindus* (who seem ignorant of our complicated harmony) are principally constructed. The longer intervals we shall call *tones*, and the shorter (in compliance with custom) *semitones*, without mentioning their exact ratios; and it is evident, that, as the *places* of the semitones admit *seven* variations relative to one fundamental sound, there are as many modes, which may be called

*primary*; but we must not confound them with our modern modes, which result from the system of accords now established in *Europe*: they may rather be compared with those of the *Roman* Church, where some valuable remnants of old *Grecian* musick are preserved in the sweet, majestic, simple, and affecting strains of the Plain Song. Now, since each of the tones may be divided, we find *twelve* semitones in the whole series; and, since each semitone may in its turn become the leader of a series formed after the model of every primary mode, we have *seven* times *twelve*, or *eighty-four*, modes in all, of which *seventy-seven* may be named *secondary*; and we shall see accordingly that the *Persian* and the *Hindus* (at least in their most popular system) have exactly *eighty-four* modes, though distinguished by different appellations and arranged in different classes: but, since many of them are unpleasing to the ear, others difficult in execution, and few sufficiently marked by a character of sentiment and expression, which the higher musick always requires, the genius of the *Indians* has enabled them to retain the *number* of modes, which nature seems to have indicated, and to give each of them a character of its own by a happy and beautiful contrivance. Why any one series of sounds, the ratios of which are ascertained by observation and expressible by

figures, should have a peculiar effect on the organ of hearing, and, by the auditory nerves, on the mind, will then only be known by mortals, when they shall know why each of the seven colours in the rainbow, where a proportion, analogous to that of musical sounds, most wonderfully prevails, has a certain specifick effect on our eyes ; why the shades of green and blue, for instance, are soft and soothing, while those of red and yellow distress and dazzle the sight ; but, without striving to account for the phenomena, let us be satisfied with knowing, that some of the *modes* have distinct perceptible properties, and may be applied to the expression of various mental emotions ; a fact, which ought well to be considered by those performers, who would reduce them all to a dull uniformity, and sacrifice the true beauties of their art to an injudicious temperament.

The ancient *Greeks*, among whom this delightful art was long in the hands of poets, and of mathematicians, who had much less to do with it, ascribe almost all its magick to the diversity of their *Modes*, but have left us little more than the names of them, without such discriminations, as might have enabled us to compare them with our own, and apply them to practice ; their writers addressed themselves to *Greeks*, who could not but know their national

musick ; and most of those writers were professed men of science, who thought more of calculating ratios than of inventing melody ; so that, whenever we speak of the soft *Eolian* mode, of the tender *Lydian*, the voluptuous *Ionick*, the manly *Dorian*, or the animating *Phrygian*, we use mere phrases, I believe, without clear ideas. For all that is known concerning the musick of *Greece*, let me refer those, who have no inclination to read the dry works of the *Greeks* themselves, to a little tract of the learned *WALLIS*, which he printed as an Appendix to the *Harmonicks of PTOLEMY* ; to the *Dictionary of Musick* by *ROUSSEAU*, whose pen, formed to elucidate all the arts, had the property of spreading light before it on the darkest subjects, as if he had written with phosphorus on the sides of a cavern ; and, lastly, to the dissertation of Dr. *BURNEY*, who, passing slightly over all that is obscure, explains with perspicuity whatever is explicable, and gives dignity to the character of a modern musician by uniting it with that of a scholar and philosopher.

The unexampled felicity of our nation, who diffuse the blessings of a mild government over the finest part of *India*, would enable us to attain a perfect knowledge of the oriental musick, which is known and practised in these *British* dominions not by mercenary performers only,

## OF THE HINDUS.

but even by *Muselmans* and *Hindus* of eminent rank and learning : a native of Cáshán, lately resident at *Murshedábád*, had a complete acquaintance with the *Perſian* theory and practice; and the best artists in *Hinduſtán* would cheerfully attend our concerts : we have an easy access to approved *Asiatick* treatises on musical composition, and need not lament with CHARDIN, that he neglected to procure at *Isfahán* the explanation of a small tract on that ſubject, which he carried to *Europe*: we may here examine the best instruments of *Asia*, may be masters of them, if we please, or at least may compare them with ours ; the concurrent labours, or rather amufements, of ſeveral in our own body, may facilitate the attainment of correct ideas on a ſubject ſo delightfully interesting ; and a free communication from time to time of their reſpective discoveries would conduct them more ſurely and speedily, as well as more agreeably, to their desired end. Such would be the advantages of union, or, to borrow a term from the art before us, of *harmonious accord*, in all our purſuits, and above all in that of knowledge.

On *Perſian* muſick, which is not the ſubject of this paper, it would be improper to enlarge : the whole ſystem of it is explained in a celebrated collection of tracts on pure and mixed

mathematicks, entitled *Durratu'ltdj*, and composed by a very learned man, so generally called *Allâmi Shârazî*, or the great philosopher of *Shâraz*, that his proper name is almost forgotten; but, as the modern Persians had access, I believe, to PTOLEMY's harmonicks, their mathematical writers on musick treat it rather as a science than as an art, and seem, like the Greeks, to be more intent on splitting tones into quarters and eighth parts, of which they compute the ratios to show their arithmetick, than on displaying the principles of modulation, as it may affect the passions. I apply the same observation to a short, but masterly, tract of the famed ABU-SI'NA', and suspect that it is applicable to an elegant essay in Persian, called *Shamsu'lâsiwât*, of which I have not had courage to read more than the preface. It will be sufficient to subjoin on this head, that the Persians distribute their eighty-four modes, according to an idea of locality, into twelve rooms, twenty-four recesses, and forty-eight angles or corners: in the beautiful tale, known by the title of the *Four Dervises*, originally written in Persia with great purity and elegance, we find the description of a concert, where four singers, with as many different instruments, are represented "modulating" in twelve *makâms* or *perdabs*, twenty-four *shâbbabs*, and forty-eight *gûshas*, and beginning

" a mirthful song of HA'FIZ, on vernal delight  
 " in the *perdab* named *ráft*, or direct." All  
 the twelve *perdabs*, with their appropriated *shô-  
 babs*, are enumerated by AMI'N, a writer and  
 musician of *Hindustán*, who mentions an opinion  
 of the learned, that only *seven* primary modes  
 were in use before the reign of PARVIZ, whose  
 musical entertainments are magnificently de-  
 scribed by the incomparable NIZAMI: the modes  
 are chiefly denominated, like those of the *Greeks*  
 and *Hindus*, from different regions or towns; as,  
 among the *perdabs*, we see *Hijáz*, *Irák*, *Isfa-  
 hán*: and, among the *shôbahs*, or secondary  
 modes, *Zábul*, *Níshápûr*, and the like. In a  
*Sanskrit* book, which shall soon be particularly  
 mentioned, I find the scale of a mode, named  
*Hijéja*, specified in the following verse:

*Máns'agraha sa nyásò'c'hild hijéjastu sáyábnè.*

The name of this mode is not *Indian*; and, if I am right in believing it a corruption of *Hijáz*, which could hardly be written otherwise in the *Nágari* letters, we must conclude, that it was imported from *Perſia*: we have discovered then a *Perſian* or *Arabian* mode with this dia-  
 pason,

D, E, F♯, G♯, A, B, C♯, D;

where the first semitone appears between the *fourth* and *fifth* notes, and the second between

the *seventh* and *eighth*; as in the natural scale *Fa, sol, la, si, ut, re, mi, fa*: but the C♯, and G♯, or *ga* and *ni* of the *Indian* author, are variously *changed*, and probably the series may be formed in a manner not very different (though certainly there is a diversity) from our major mode of D. This melody must necessarily end with the *fifth* note from the tonick, and begin with the tonick itself; and it would be a gross violation of musical decorum in *India*, to sing it at any time except at the close of day: these rules are comprised in the verse above cited; but the species of octave is arranged according to Mr. FOWKE's remarks on the *Viná*, compared with the fixed *Swaragráma*, or gamut, of all the *Hindu* musicians.

Let us proceed to the *Indian* system, which is minutely explained in a great number of *Sanskrit* books, by authors, who leave arithmetic and geometry to their astronomers, and properly discourse on musick as an art confined to the pleasures of imagination. The *Pandits* of this province unanimously prefer the *Dámodara* to any of the popular *Sangitas*; but I have not been able to procure a good copy of it, and am perfectly satisfied with the *Nárayan*, which I received from *Bénáres*, and in which the *Dámodar* is frequently quoted. The *Persian* book, entitled *a Present from INDIA*, was composed,

under the patronage of AAZEM SHA'H, by the very diligent and ingenious MIRZA KHAN, and contains a minute account of *Hindu* literature in all, or most of, its branches : he professes to have extracted his elaborate chapter on musick, with the assistance of *Pandits* from the *Rágárnava*, or Sea of Passions, the *Rágaderpana*, or Mirror of Modes, the *Sabbávinóda*, or Delight of Assemblies, and some other approved treatises in *Sanskrit*. The *Sangítaderpan*, which he also names among his authorities, has been translated into *Persian*; but my experience justifies me in pronouncing, that the *Moghols* have no idea of accurate translation, and give that name to a mixture of gloss and text with a flimsy paraphrase of them both ; that they are wholly unable, yet always pretend, to write *Sanskrit* words in *Arabick* letters ; that a man, who knows 'the Hindus only from *Persian* books, does not know the Hindus ; and that an *European*, who follows the muddy rivulets of *Müselman* writers on *India*, instead of drinking from the pure fountain of *Hindu* learning, will be in perpetual danger of misleading himself and others. From the just severity of this censure I except neither ABU'LFAZL, nor his brother FAIZ'I, nor MOHSANI FA'N'I, nor MIRZA'KH'AN himself ; and I speak of all four after an attentive perusal of their works. A tract on musick in the idiom

of *Mathurā*, with several essays in pure *Hindū-*  
*śāṇā*, lately passed through my hands; and I  
possess a dissertation on the same art in the soft  
dialect of *Panjāb*, or *Panchanada*, where the  
national melody has, I am told, a peculiar and  
striking character; but I am very little ac-  
quainted with those dialects, and persuade my-  
self, that nothing has been written in them,  
which may not be found more copiously and  
beautifully expressed in the *language*, as the  
*Hindus* perpetually call it, *of the Gods*, that is,  
of their ancient bards, philosophers, and le-  
gislators.

The most valuable work, that I have seen,  
and perhaps the most valuable that exists, on  
the subject of *Indian* musick, is named *Rāgavi-  
bodha*, or *The Doctrine of Musical Modes*; and  
it ought here to be mentioned very particularly,  
because none of the *Pandits*, in our provinces,  
nor any of those from *Cási* or *Cashmír*, to  
whom I have shown it, appear to have known  
that it was extant; and it may be considered as  
a treasure in the history of the art, which the  
zeal of Colonel POLIER has brought into light,  
and perhaps has preserved from destruction.  
He had purchased, among other curiosities, a  
volume containing a number of separate essays  
on musick in prose and verse, and in a great  
variety of idioms; besides tracts in *Arabick*,

*Hindi*, and *Persian*, it included a short essay in *Latin* by ALSTEDIUS, with an interlineary *Persian* translation, in which the passages quoted from LUCRETIUS and VIRGIL made a singular appearance; but the brightest gem in the string was the *Rágavibódha*, which the Colonel permitted my *Nágari* writer to transcribe, and the transcript was diligently collated with the original by my *Pandit* and myself. It seems a very ancient composition, but is less old unquestionably than the *Ratnacára* by SA'RNGA DE'VA, which is more than once mentioned in it, and a copy of which Mr. BURROW procured in his journey to *Heridwar*: the name of the author was SO'MA, and he appears to have been a practical musician as well as a great scholar and an elegant poet; for the whole book, without excepting the strains noted in letters, which fill the fifth and last chapter of it, consists of masterly couplets in the melodious metre called *Aryà*; the *first*, *third*, and *fourth* chapters explain the doctrine of musical sounds, their division and succession, the variations of scales by temperament, and the enumeration of modes on a system totally different from those, which will presently be mentioned; and the *second* chapter contains a minute description of different *Vindás* with rules for playing on them. This book alone would enable me, were I master of my

time, to compose a treatise on the musick of *India*, with assistance, in the practical part, from an *European* professor and a native player on the *Vina*; but I have leisure only to present you with an essay, and even that, I am conscious, must be very superficial; it may be sometimes, but, I trust, not often, erroneous; and I have spared no pains to secure myself from error.

In the literature of the *Hindus* all nature is animated and personified; every fine art is declared to have been revealed from heaven; and all knowledge, divine and human, is traced to its source in the *Védas*; among which the *Sáma-véda* was intended to be *sung*, whence the reader, or singer of it is called *Udgátri* or *Sá-maga*: in Colonel POLIER's copy of it the strains are noted in figures, which it may not be impossible to decypher. On account of this distinction, say the *Bráhmens*, the *supreme preserving power*, in the form of *CRISHNA*, having enumerated in the *Gítà* various orders of beings, to the chief of which he compares himself, pronounces, that “*among the Védas he was the Sáman.*” From that *Véda* was accordingly derived the *Upavéda* of the *Gandharbas*, or musicians in *INDRA*'s heaven; so that the divine art was communicated to our species by *BRAHMA* himself or by his *active power SERESWATI*, the

Goddess of Speech ; and their mythological son NA'RED, who was in truth an ancient lawgiver and astronomer, invented the *Vinà*, called also *Cach'bapi*, or *Testudo*; a very remarkable fact, which may be added to the other proofs of a resemblance between that *Indian* God, and the MERCURY of the *Latians*. Among inspired mortals the first musician is believed to have been the sage BHERAT, who was the inventor, they say, of *Nátacs*, or dramas, represented with songs and dances, and author of a musical system, which bears his name. If we can rely on MI'RZAKHA'N, there are four principal *Matas*, or systems, the first of which is ascribed to ISWARA, or OSIRIS; the second to BHERAT; the third to HANUMAT, or PA'VAN, the PAN of *India*, supposed to be the son of PAVANA, the regent of air; and the fourth to CALLI-NA'T'H, a *Rishi*, or *Indian* philosopher, eminently skilled in musick, theoretical and practical: all four are mentioned by SO'MA; and it is the third of them, which must be very ancient, and seems to have been extremely popular, that I propose to explain after a few introductory remarks; but I may here observe with SO'MA, who exhibits a system of his own, and with the author of the *Náráyan*, who mentions a great many others, that almost every kingdom and province had a peculiar style of melody, and

very different names for the modes, as well as a different arrangement and enumeration of them.

The two phenomena, which have already been stated as the foundation of musical modes, could not long have escaped the attention of the *Hindus*, and their flexible language readily supplied them with names for the seven *Swaras*, or sounds, which they dispose in the following order, *shádja*, pronounced *sharja*, *r̥ishabha*, *gánḍhára*, *madhyama*, *panchama*, *dhaivata*, *nisháda*; but the first of them is emphatically named *swara*, or the sound, from the important office, which it bears in the scale; and hence, by taking the seven *initial letters* or syllables of those words, they contrived a notation for their airs, and at the same time exhibited a gamut, at least as convenient as that of GUIDO: they call it *swaragráma* or *septaca*, and express it in this form:

*Sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni,*

three of which syllables are, by a singular concurrence, exactly the same, though not all in the same places, with three of those invented by DAVID MOSTARE, as a substitute for the troublesome gamut used in his time, and which he arranges thus:

*Bo, ce, di, ga, lo, ma, ni.*

As to the notation of melody, since every Indian

*Scale of the finger-board of the piano reduced to the whole length being 21 inches, from the nut to the highest string.*



consonant includes by its nature the short vowel *a*, five of the sounds are denoted by single consonants, and the two others have different short vowels taken from their full names ; by substituting long vowels, the time of each note is doubled, and other marks are used for a farther elongation of them ; the octaves above and below the mean scale, the connection and acceleration of notes, the graces of execution or manners of fingering the instrument, are expressed very clearly by small circles and ellipses, by little chains, by curves, by straight lines horizontal or perpendicular, and by crescents, all in various positions : the close of a strain is distinguished by a lotos-flower ; but the time and measure are determined by the prosody of the verse and by the comparative length of each syllable, with which every note or assemblage of notes respectively corresponds. If I understand the native musicians, they have not only the *chromatick*, but even the second, or new, *enharmonick*, genus ; for they unanimously reckon twenty-two *srutis*, or quarters and thirds of a tone, in their octave : they do not pretend that those minute intervals are mathematically equal, but consider them as equal in practice, and allot them to the several notes in the following order ; to *sa*, *ma*, and *pa*, four ; to *ri* and *dba*, three ; to *ga* and *ni*, two ; giving very smooth and significant names to

each *s'rutī*. Their original scale, therefore, stands thus,

*Sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni, sa.*  
 $\underbrace{\phantom{sa}}_{4s'} \quad \underbrace{\phantom{ri}}_{3s'} \quad \underbrace{\phantom{ga}}_{2s'} \quad \underbrace{\phantom{ma}}_{4s'} \quad \underbrace{\phantom{pa}}_{4s'} \quad \underbrace{\phantom{dha}}_{3s'} \quad \underbrace{\phantom{ni}}_{2s'}$

The semitones accordingly are placed as in our diatonick scale: the intervals between the fourth and fifth, and between the first and second, are major tones; but that between the fifth and sixth, which is minor in our scale, appears to be major in theirs; and the two scales are made to coincide by taking a *s'rutī* from *pa* and adding it to *dha*, or, in the language of Indian artists, by raising *Servaretnā* to the class of *Sántā* and her sisters; for every *s'rutī* they consider as a little nymph, and the nymphs of *Panchama*, or the fifth note, are *Málini*, *Chapalá*, *Lólá*, and *Servaretnā*, while *Sántā* and her two sisters regularly belong to *Dhaivata*: such at least is the system of CO'HALA, one of the ancient bards, who has left a treatise on musick.

SO'MA seems to admit, that a quarter or third of a tone cannot be separately and distinctly heard from the *Vínā*; but he takes for granted, that its effect is very perceptible in their arrangement of modes; and their sixth, I imagine, is almost universally diminished by one *s'rutī*; for he only mentions two modes, in which all the seven notes are *unaltered*. I tried in vain to

discover any difference in practice between the *Indian* scale, and that of our own ; but, knowing my ear to be very insufficiently exercised, I requested a *German* professor of musick to accompany with his violin a *Hindu* lutanist, who sung *by note* some popular airs on the loves of CRISHNA and RA'DH'A ; he assured me, that the scales were the same ; and Mr. SHORE afterwards informed me, that, when the voice of a native singer was in tune with his harpsichord, he found the *Hindu* series of seven notes to ascend, like ours, by a sharp third.

For the construction and character of the *Vinà*, I must refer you to the very accurate and valuable paper of Mr. FOWKE in the first volume of your Transactions ; and I now exhibit a scale of its finger board, which I received from him with the drawing of the instrument, and on the correctness of which you may confidently depend : the regular *Indian* gamut answers, I believe pretty nearly to our major mode :

*Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si, ut,*

and, when the same syllables are applied to the notes, which compose our minor mode, they are distinguished by epithets expressing the change, which they suffer. It may be necessary to add, before we come to the *Rágas*, or modes of the *Hindus*, that the twenty-one *múrch'banas*, which Mr. SHORE's native musician confounded with

the two and twenty *s'rutis*, appear to be no more than *seven* species of diapason multiplied by *three*, according to the difference of pitch in the compass of three octaves.

*Rāga* which I translate a *mode*, properly signifies a *passion* or *affection* of the mind, each mode being intended, according to BHERAT's definition of it, to move one or another of our simple or mixed affections; and we learn accordingly from the *Náráyan*, that, in the days of CRISHNA, there were *sixteen thousand* modes, each of the *Gópis* at *Mat'burà* chusing to sing in one of them, in order to captivate the heart of their pastoral God. The very learned SO'MA, who mixes no mythology with his accurate system of *Rágas*, enumerates *nine hundred and sixty* possible variations by the means of temperament, but selects from them, as applicable to practice, only *twenty-three* primary modes, from which he deduces many others; though he allows, that, by a diversity of ornament and by various contrivances, the *Rágas* might, like the waves of the sea, be multiplied to an infinite number. We have already observed, that *eighty-four modes* or *manners*, might naturally be formed by giving the lead to each of our *twelve* sounds, and varying in *seven* different ways the position of the semitones; but, since many of those modes would be insufferable in practice, and

some would have no character sufficiently marked, the *Indians* appear to have retained with predilection the number indicated by nature, and to have enforced their system by two powerful aids, the *association of ideas*, and the *mutilation of the regular scales*.

Whether it had occurred to the *Hindu* musicians, that the velocity or slowness of sounds must depend, in a certain ratio, upon the rarefaction and condensation of the air, so that their motion must be quicker in summer than in spring or autumn, and much quicker than in winter, I cannot assure myself; but am persuaded, that their primary modes, in the system ascribed to PA'VANA, were first arranged according to the number of *Indian* seasons.

The year is distributed by the *Hindus* into six *ritus*, or seasons, each consisting of two months; and the first season, according to the *Amarcôsha*, began with *Márgasírsha*, near the time of the winter solstice, to which month accordingly we see CRISHNA compared in the *Gita*; but the old lunar year began, I believe, with *A'swina*, or near the autumnal equinox, when the moon was at the full in the first mansion: hence the musical season, which takes the lead, includes the months of *A'swin* and *Cártic*, and bears the name of *Sárad*, corresponding with part of our autumn; the next in order are

*Hemanta* and *Sisira*, derived from words, which signify frost and dew; then come *Vasanta*, or spring, called also *Surabhi* or fragrant, and *Puspapasmaya*, or the flower time; *Grishma*, or heat; and *Vershà*, or the season of rain. By appropriating a different mode to each of the different seasons, the artists of *India* connected certain strains with certain ideas, and were able to recal the memory of autumnal merriment at the close of the harvest, or of separation and melancholy (very different from our ideas at *Calcutta*) during the cold months; of reviving hilarity on the appearance of blossoms, and complete vernal delight in the month of *Madhu* or honey; of languor during the dry heats, and of refreshment by the first rains, which cause in this climate a second spring. Yet farther: since the lunar year, by which festivals and superstitious duties are constantly regulated, proceeds concurrently with the solar year, to which the seasons are necessarily referred, *devotion* comes also to the aid of musick, and all the powers of *nature*, which are allegorically worshipped as gods and goddesses on their several holidays, contribute to the influence of song on minds naturally susceptible of religious emotions. Hence it was, I imagine, that *Pavan*, or the inventor of his musical system, reduced the number of original modes from *seven* to *six*; but even this was not

enough for his purpose ; and he had recourse to the *five* principal divisions of the day, which are the *morning*, *noon*, and *evening*, called *trisandhya*, with the two intervals between them, or the *forenoon* and *afternoon* : by adding *two* divisions, or intervals, of the night, and by leaving one species of melody without any such restriction, *SōMA* reckons *eight* variations in respect of time ; and the system of *PA'VAN* retains that number also in the second order of derivative modes. Every branch of knowledge in this country has been embellished by poetical fables ; and the inventive talents of the *Greeks* never suggested a more charming allegory than the lovely families of the six *Rágas*, named, in the order of seasons above exhibited, *BHAIRAVA*, *MA'LAVA*, *SRI'RÁ'GA*, *HINDOLA* or *VASANTA*, *DI'PACA*, and *ME'GHA* ; each of whom is a Genius, or Demigod, wedded to five *Ráginis*, or Nymphs, and father of *eight* little Genii, called his *Putras*, or Sons : the fancy of *SHAKSPEARE* and the pencil of *ALBANO* might have been finely employed in giving speech and form to this assemblage of new aërial beings, who people the fairy-land of *Indian* imagination ; nor have the *Hindu* poets and painters lost the advantages, with which so beautiful a subject presented them. A whole chapter of the *Náráyan* contains descriptions of the *Rágas* and

their consorts, extracted chiefly from the *Dámo-dar*, the *Caláncura*, the *Retnamálá*, the *Chandricá*, and a metrical tract on musick ascribed to the God NA'RED himself, from which, as among so many beauties a particular selection would be very perplexing, I present you with the first that occurs, and have no doubt, that you will think the *Sanskrit* language equal to *Italian* in softness and elegance :

Lilá viháréna vanántarálé,  
Chinvan prasúnáni vadhú saháyah,  
Vilási vésódita divya mûrtih  
Srírága ésha prat'hitah prit'hivyám.

“ The demigod SRÍRA'GA, famed over all this earth, sweetly sports with his nymphs, gathering fresh blossoms in the bosom of yon grove ; and his divine lineaments are distinguished through his graceful vesture.”

These and similar images, but wonderfully diversified, are expressed in a variety of measures, and represented by delicate pencils in the *Rágamálás*, which all of us have examined, and among which the most beautiful are in the possession of Mr. R. JOHNSON and Mr. HAY. A noble work might be composed by any musician and scholar, who enjoyed leisure and disregarded expence, if he would exhibit a perfect system of *Indian* musick from *Sanskrit* authorities, with the old melodies of SO'MA applied to the songs

of JAYADE'VA, embellished with descriptions of all the modes accurately translated, and with Mr. HAY's *Rágamálā* delineated and engraved by the scholars of CIPRIANI and BARTOLOZZI.

Let us proceed to the second artifice of the *Hindu* musicians, in giving their modes a distinct character and a very agreeable diversity of expression. A curious passage from PLUTARCH's treatise on Musick is translated and explained by Dr. BURNEY, and stands as the text of the most interesting chapter in his dissertation ; since I cannot procure the original, I exhibit a paraphrase of his translation, on the correctness of which I can rely ; but I have avoided, as much as possible, the technical words of the *Greeks*, which it might be necessary to explain at some length. " We are informed, says PLUTARCH, " by ARISTOXENUS, that musicians ascribe to " OLYMPUS of *Myśia* the invention of *enbar-*  
*monick* melody, and conjecture, that, when he  
" was playing diatonically on his flute, and fre-  
" quently passed from the highest of four sounds  
" to the lowest but one, or conversely, skipping  
" over the second in descent, or the third in  
" ascent, of that series, he perceived a singular  
" beauty of expression, which induced him to  
" dispose the whole series of seven or eight  
" sounds by similar skips, and to frame by the  
" same analogy his *Dorian* mode, omitting every

“ found *peculiar* to the diatonick and chromatick  
“ melodies then in use, but without adding any  
“ that have since been made essential to the *new*  
“ enharmonick: in this genus, they say, he  
“ composed the *Nome*, or strain, called *Spondean*,  
“ because it was used in temples at the time of  
“ religious *libations*. Those, it seems, were the  
“ *first* enharmonick melodies; and are still re-  
“ tained by some, who play on the flute in the  
“ antique style without any division of a semi-  
“ tone; for it was after the age of **OLYMPUS**,  
“ that the quarter of a tone was admitted into  
“ the *Lydian* and *Pbrygian* modes; and it was  
“ he, therefore, who, by introducing an exqui-  
“ site melody before unknown in *Greece*, became  
“ the author and parent of the most beautiful  
“ and affecting musick.”

This method then of adding to the character and effect of a mode by diminishing the number of its primitive sounds, was introduced by a Greek of the lower *Asia*, who flourished, according to the learned and accurate writer of the Travels of *ANACHARSIS*, about the middle of the *thirteenth* century before *CHRIST*; but it must have been older still among the *HINDUS*, if the system, to which I now return, was actually invented in the age of *RA'MA*.

Since it appears from the *Náráyan*, that *thirty-six* modes are in general use, and the rest very

rarely applied to practice, I shall exhibit only the scales of the six *Rágas* and thirty *Ráginiś*, according to Só'MA, the authors quoted in the *Náráyan*, and the books explained by *Pandits* to MÍRZA'KHA'N; on whose credit I must rely for that of *Cacubhá*, which I cannot find in my *Sanskrit* treatises on musick: had I depended on him for information of greater consequence, he would have led me into a very serious mistake; for he asserts, what I now find erroneous, that the *graha* is the first note of every mode, with which every song, that is composed in it, must invariably begin *and end*. Three distinguished sounds in each mode are called *graha*, *nyása*, *ans'a*, and the writer of the *Náráyan* defines them in the two following couplets:

*Graha* swarah fa ityuṄtō yó gítádau samarpitah,  
*Nyása* swaraſtu fa próṄtō yó gítádi samápticah:  
 Yó vyactivyanjacò gánè, yasya servé' nugáminah,  
 Yasya servatra báhulyam vādy *ans'o* pi nrípótamah.

“ The note, called *graha*, is placed at the beginning, and that named *nyása*, at the end, of a song: that note, which displays the peculiar melody, and to which all the others are subordinate, that, which is always of the greatest use, is like a sovereign, though a mere *ans'a*, or portion.”

“ By the word *vádi*, says the commentator, he means the note, which announces and af-

" certains the *Rága*, and which may be considered as the parent and origin of the *graba* and *nyása* :" this clearly shows, I think, that the *ans'a* must be the tonick ; and we shall find, that the two other notes are generally its third and fifth, or the mediant and the dominant. In the poem entitled *Mágħa* there is a musical simile, which may illustrate and confirm our idea :

Analpatwát pradhánatwád ans'asyévétaraswaráh,  
Vijigishórñripatayah prayánti pericháratám.

" From the greatness, from the transcendent qualities, of that Hero, eager for conquest, other kings march in subordination to him, as other notes are subordinate to the *ans'a*."

If the *ans'a* be the tonick, or modal note, of the *Hindus*, we may confidently exhibit the scales of the *Indian* modes, according to So'MA, denoting by an asterisk the omission of a note.

<i>BHAIRAVA</i> :	dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa.
<i>Varáti</i> :	fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
<i>Medhyamádi</i> :	ma, pa, *, ni, fa, *, ga.
<i>Bhairavì</i> :	fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
<i>Saṇindhvà</i> :	fa, ri, *, ma, pa, dha, *.
<i>Bengálì</i> :	fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
<i>MA'LAVA</i> :	ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha.
<i>Tódi</i> :	ga, ma, pa, dha, ni, fa, ri.
<i>Gaudi</i> :	ni, fa, ri, *, ma, pa, *.
<i>Góndácrì</i> :	fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, *, ni.
<i>Suṣṭubhávastì</i> :	not in So'MA.
<i>Cacubbà</i> :	not in So'MA,

<i>Srira'ga:</i>	<i>ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha.</i>
<i>Málavas'rì:</i>	<i>fa, *, ga, ma, pa, *, ni.</i>
<i>Máraवì:</i>	<i>ga, ma, pa, *, ni, fa, *.</i>
<i>Dhanjásì:</i>	<i>fa, *, ga, ma, pa, *, ni.</i>
<i>Vasantì:</i>	<i>fa, ri, ga, ma, *, dha, ni.</i>
<i>Asáverì:</i>	<i>ma, pa, dha, ni, fa, ri, ga.</i>
<i>Hindo'la:</i>	<i>ma, *, dha, ni, fa, *, ga.</i>
<i>Rámacrì:</i>	<i>fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.</i>
<i>Dés'ácfhì:</i>	<i>ga, ma, pa, dha, *, fa, ri.</i>
<i>Lelità:</i>	<i>fa, ri, ga, ma, *, dha, ni.</i>
<i>Vélávalì:</i>	<i>dha, ni, fa, *, ga, ma, *.</i>
<i>Patamanjarì:</i>	not in So'MA.
<i>D'ipaca:</i>	not in So'MA.
<i>Dés'i:</i>	<i>ri, *, ma, pa, dha, ni, fa.</i>
<i>Cámbódi:</i>	<i>fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, *.</i>
<i>Nettà:</i>	<i>fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.</i>
<i>Cédárì:</i>	<i>ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha.</i>
<i>Carnátì:</i>	<i>ni, fa, *, ga, ma, pa, *.</i>
<i>Me'gha:</i>	not in So'MA.
<i>Taccà:</i>	<i>fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.</i>
<i>Mellári:</i>	<i>dha, *, fa, ri, *, ma, pa.</i>
<i>Gurjarì:</i>	<i>ri, ga, ma, *, dha, ni, fa.</i>
<i>Bhúpálì:</i>	<i>ga, *, pa, dha, *, fa, ri.</i>
<i>Désacrì:</i>	<i>fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.</i>

It is impossible that I should have erred much, if at all, in the preceding table, because the regularity of the *Sanskrit* metre has in general enabled me to correct the manuscript: but I have some doubt as to *Vélávali*, of which *pa* is declared to be the *ans'a* or tonick, though it is said in the same line, that both *pa* and *ri* may be omitted: I, therefore, have supposed *dha* to be

the true reading, both MIRZAKHAN and the Náráyan exhibiting that note as the leader of the mode. The notes printed in Italick letters are variously *changed* by temperament or by shakes and other graces; but, even if I were able to give you in words a distinct notion of those changes, the account of each mode would be insufferably tedious, and scarce intelligible without the assistance of a masterly performer on the *Indian* lyre. According to the best authorities adduced in the Náráyan, the thirty-six modes are, in some provinces, arranged in these forms:

BHAIRAVA :		dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa.
Varáti :	{	fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
Medhyamádi :		ni, fa, *, ga, ma, pa, dha.
Bhairaví :	{	fa, *, ga, ma, *, dha, ni.
Saindhaví :		pa, dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma.
Bengálí :	{	fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
MA'LAVA :	{	ma, *, dha, ni, fa, ri, ga.
Tódī :		ma, pa, dha, ni, fa, ri, ga.
Gáudī :	{	ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, *, dha.
Gónadacrí :		fa, *, ga, ma, pa, *, ni.
Suṣṭhávatí :	{	dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, *.
Cacubbhá :		not in the Náráyan.
SRI'RÁ'GA :	{	fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
Málavafrí :		fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
Márvá :	{	fa, *, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
Dhanyásí :		fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
Vasantí :	{	fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
A'sáverí :		ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni, fa.

Hindo'la:	{ fa, *, ga, ma, *, dha, ni.
Rámacrì:	{ fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni,
Désácfhì:	{ ga, ma, pa, dha, ni, fa, *.
Lelità:	{ fa, *, ga, ma, pa, *, ni.
Vélávalì:	{ dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa.
Patamanjarì:	{ pa, dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma.
Dí'PACA:	omitted.
Désì:	{ ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha.
Cámbódì:	{ fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
Nettà:	{ fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
Cédárì:	omitted.
Carnáti:	{ ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha.
ME'GHA:	{ dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa.
Tacvà:	{ (a mixed mode.)
Mellári:	{ dha, ni, *, ri, ga, ma, *.
Gurjarì:	omitted in the Náráyan.
Bhúpálì:	{ fa, ri, ga, *, pa, dha, *.
Désacrì:	{ ni, fa, *, ga, ma, pa, *.

Among the scales just enumerated we may safely fix on that of SRI'RÁ'GA for our own major mode, since its form and character are thus described in a *Sanskrit* couplet:

Játinyásagrahagrámáns'éshu shádjó' lpa panchamah,  
Sringárviráyórjnéyah Srírágò gitacóvidaih.

" Musicians know *Srirága* to have *sa* for its principal note and the first of its scale, with *pa* diminished, and to be used for expressing heroick love and valour." Now the diminution of *pa* by one *srti* gives us the modern European scale,

*ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si, ut.*

with a minor tone, or, as the *Indians* would express it, with three *s'rutis*, between the fifth and sixth notes.

On the formulas exhibited by MIRZAKHAN I have less reliance ; but, since he professes to give them from *Sanskrit* authorities, it seemed proper to transcribe them :

BHAIRAVA :	dha, ni, fa, *, ga, ma, *.
Varáti :	fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
Medbyamádi :	ma, pa, dha, ni, fa, ri, ga.
Bhairavì :	ma, pa, dha, ni, fa, ri, ga.
Saindhavì :	fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
Bengálì :	fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
MA'LAVA :	fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
Tódì :	fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
Gáudì :	fa, *, ga, ma, *, dha, ni.
Gónadacrì :	ni, fa, *, ga, ma, pa, *.
Suṣphávati :	dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, *.
Cacubhà :	dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa.
SRI'RAGA :	fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
Málavafrì :	fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
Máravì :	fa, *, pa, ga, ma, dha, ni.
Dhanyásì :	fa, pa, dha, ni, ri, ga, *.
Vasanti :	fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
Aśaverì :	dha, ni, fa, *, *, ma, pa.
HINDOLA :	fa, *, ga, ma, pa, *, ni.
Rámacrì :	fa, *, ga, ma, pa, *, ni.
Dés'ácfhí:	ga, ma, pa, dha, ni, fa, *.
Lelità :	dha, ni, fa, *, ga, ma, *.
Vélavali :	dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa.
Patamanjari :	pa, dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma.

DIPACA :	{ fa,      ri,      ga,      ma,      pa,      dha,      ni.
Dési :	ri,      ga,      ma,      *,      dha,      ni,      sa.
Cambôdi :	dha,      ni,      fa,      ri,      ga,      ma,      pa.
Netta :	fa,      ni,      dha,      pa,      ma,      ga,      ri.
Cédari :	ni,      fa,      *,      ga,      ma,      pa,      *.
Carnati :	ni,      fa,      ri,      ga,      ma,      pa,      dha.
MEGHA :	{ dha,      ni,      fa,      ri,      ga,      *,      *.
Tacca :	fa,      ri,      ga,      ma,      pa,      dha,      ni.
Mellari :	dha,      ni,      *,      ri,      ga,      ma,      *.
Gurjari :	ri,      ga,      ma,      pa,      dha,      ni,      fa.
Bhúpali :	fa,      ga,      ma,      dha,      ni,      pa,      ri.
Désacr̄i :	fa,      ri,      ga,      ma,      pa,      dha,      ni.

It may reasonably be suspected, that the *Moghol* writer could not have shown the distinction, which must necessarily have been made, between the different modes, to which he assigns the same formula; and, as to his inversions of the notes in some of the *Ráginis*, I can only say, that no such changes appear in the *Sanskrit* books, which I have inspected. I leave our scholars and musicians to find, among the scales here exhibited, the *Dorian* mode of *OLYMPUS*; but it cannot escape notice, that the *Chinese* scale C, D, E, \*, G, A, \*, corresponds very nearly with *ga, ma, pa, \*, ni, fa, \**, or the *Márvá* of *So' MA*: we have long known in *Bengal*, from the information of a *Scotch* gentleman skilled in musick, that the wild, but charming melodies of the ancient highlanders were formed by a similar mutilation of the natural scale. By such mutilations, and by various alterations of the notes

in tuning the *Vinà*, the number of modes might be augmented indefinitely ; and CALLINA'T'HA admits *ninety* into his system, allowing *six* nymphs, instead of *five*, to each of his musical deities : for *Dipaca*, which is generally considered as a lost mode (though MI'RZA'KHAN exhibits the notes of it), he substitutes *Panchama*; for *Hindola*, he gives us *Vasanta*, or the Spring; and for *Má lava*, *Natanáráyan* or CRISHNA the Dancer; all with scales rather different from those of *PA'VAN*. The system of ISWARA, which may have had some affinity with the old *Egyptian* musick invented or improved by OSIRIS, nearly resembles that of HANUMAT, but the names and scales are a little varied : in all the systems, the names of the modes are significant, and some of them as fanciful as those of the fairies in the Midsummer Night's Dream. Forty-eight new modes were added by BHERAT, who *marries* a nymph, thence called *Bháryà*, to each *Putra*, or Son, of a *Rága* ; thus admitting, in his musical school, an *hundred and thirty-two* manners of arranging the series of notes.

Had the *Indian* empire continued in full energy for the last two thousand years, religion would, no doubt, have given permanence to systems of musick invented, as the *Hindus* believe, by their Gods, and adapted to mystical poetry ; but such have been the revolutions of

their government since the time of ALEXANDER, that, although the *Sanscrit* books have preserved the theory of their musical composition, the practice of it seems almost wholly lost (as all the *Pandits* and *Rájas* confess) in *Gaur* and *Magarba*, or the provinces of *Bengal* and *Bebar*. When I first read the songs of JAYADE'VA, who has prefixed to each of them the name of the mode, in which it was anciently sung, I had hopes of procuring the original musick; but the *Pandits* of the south referred me to those of the west, and the *Bráhmens* of the west would have sent me to those of the north; while they, I mean those of *Népàl* and *Cashmír*, declared that they had no ancient musick, but imagined, that the notes to the *Gitagóvinda* must exist, if any where, in one of the southern provinces, where the Poet was born: from all this I collect, that the art, which flourished in *India* many centuries ago, has faded for want of due culture, though some scanty remnants of it may, perhaps, be preserved in the pastoral roundelay of *Mat'hurà* on the loves and sports of the *Indian APOLLO*. We must not, therefore, be surprised, if modern performers on the *Vinà* have little or no *modulation*, or *change of mode*, to which passionate musick owes nearly all its enchantment: but that the old musicians of *India*, having fixed on a leading mode to express the

general character of the song, which they were translating into the musical language, varied that mode, by certain rules, according to the variation of sentiment or passion in the poetical phrases, and always returned to it at the close of the air, many reasons induce me to believe ; though I cannot but admit, that their modulation must have been greatly confined by the restriction of certain modes to certain seasons and hours, unless those restrictions belonged merely to the principal mode. The scale of the *Vinà*, we find, comprised both our *European* modes, and, if some of the notes can be raised a semitone by a stronger pressure on the frets, a delicate and experienced finger might produce the effect of minute enharmonick intervals : the construction of the instrument, therefore, seems to favour my conjecture ; and an excellent judge of the subject informs us, that, “ the open wires are from “ time to time struck in a manner, that prepares “ the ear for a change of modulation, to which “ the uncommonly full and fine tones of those “ notes greatly contribute.” We may add, that the *Hindu* poets never fail to change the *metre*, which is their *mode*, according to the change of subject or sentiment in the same piece ; and I could produce instances of *poetical modulation* (if such a phrase may be used) at least equal to the most affecting modulations of our greatest com-

posers : now the musician must naturally have emulated the poet, as every translator endeavours to resemble his original ; and, since each of the *Indian* modes is appropriated to a certain affection of the mind, it is hardly possible, that, where the passion is varied, a skilful musician could avoid a variation of the mode. The rules for modulation seem to be contained in the chapters on *mixed modes*, for an intermixture of *Mellári* with *Tódí* and *Saindhaví* means, I suppose, a transition, however short, from one to another : but the question must remain undecided, unless we can find in the *Sangítas* a clearer account of modulation, than I am able to produce, or unless we can procure a copy of the *Gítagóvinda* with the musick, to which it was set, before the time of CALIDAS, in some notation, that may be easily decyphered. It is obvious, that I have not been speaking of a modulation regulated by harmony, with which the *Hindus*, I believe, were unacquainted ; though, like the *Greeks*, they distinguish the *consonant* and *dissonant* sounds : I mean only such a transition from one series of notes to another, as we see described by the *Greek* musicians, who were ignorant of *harmony* in the modern sense of the word, and, perhaps, if they had known it ever so perfectly, would have applied it solely to the support of melody, which alone speaks the language of passion and sentiment.

It would give me pleasure to close this essay with several specimens of old *Indian* airs from the fifth chapter of *SO'MA*; but I have leisure only to present you with one of them in our own characters accompanied with the original notes : I selected the mode of *Vasantī*, because it was adapted by JAYADE'VA himself to the most beautiful of his odes, and because the number of notes in *SO'MA* compared with that of the syllables in the *Sanskrit* stanza, may lead us to guess, that the strain itself was applied by the musician to the very words of the poet. The words are :

Lalita lavāṅga latā perisilana cōmala malaya samiré,  
 Madhucara nicara carambita cōcila cūjita cunja cutiré  
 Viharati heririha sarasa vasanté  
 Nr̄ityati yuvati janéna saman fac'hi virahi janasya duranté.

“ While the soft gale of *Malaya* wafts · per-  
 “ fume from the beautiful clove-plant, and the  
 “ recess of each flowery arbour sweetly resounds  
 “ with the strains of the *Cócila* mingled with  
 “ the murmurs of the honey-making swarms,  
 “ HERI dances, O lovely friend, with a com-  
 “ pany of damsels in this vernal season; a sea-  
 “ son full of delights, but painful to separated  
 “ lovers.”

I have noted *SO'MA*'s air in the major mode of A, or *sa*, which, from its gaiety and brilliancy, well expresses the general hilarity of the song ; but the sentiment oftender pain, even in

a season of delights, from the remembrance of pleasures no longer attainable, would require in our musick a change to the minor mode; and the air might be dispos'd in the form of a rondeau ending with the second line, or even with the third, where the sense is equally full, if it should be thought proper to express by another modulation that *imitative melody*, which the poet has manifestly attempted: the measure is very rapid, and the air should be gay, or even quick, in exact proportion to it.

## AN OLD INDIAN AIR.

The musical notation consists of eight staves of music, each with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a time signature of common time (indicated by a '2'). The lyrics are written below each staff in a cursive script. The lyrics are:

la li ta la van gala ta pe ri si la na co mala mala yasa  
 mi re mad huca ra ni ca ra ca ram bi ta co ci la \*

cu ji ta cun ja cu ti re vi ha ra ti he ri ri ha

sa ra sa va san te nrit ya ti yu va ti ja ne na sa mansachi

vi ra hi ja na sya du ran te

sa ri ga ma pa dha ni sa

The preceding is a strain in the mode of HINDO'L A, beginning and ending with the fifth note *sa*, but wanting *pa*, and *ri*, or the second and sixth: I could easily have found words for it in the *Gitagóvinda*, but the united charms of poetry and musick would lead me too far; and I must now with reluctance bid farewell to a subject, which I despair of having leisure to resume.

ON

## THE MYSTICAL POETRY

OF

### *THE PERSIANS AND HINDUS.*

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

---

A FIGURATIVE mode of expressing the fervour of devotion, or the ardent love of created spirits towards their benificent Creator, has prevailed from time immemorial in *Asia*; particularly among the *Perſian* theifts, both ancient *Huſhangis* and modern *Súfis*, who seem to have borrowed it from the *Indian* philosophers of the *Védánta* school; and their doctrines are also believed to be the source of that sublime, but poetical, theology, which glows and sparkles in the writings of the old *Academicks*. “PLATO travelled into “*Italy* and *Egypt*, says CLAUDE FLEURY, to “learn the Theology of the Pagans at its foun-“tain head:” its true fountain, however, was neither in *Italy* nor in *Egypt* (though consider-able streams of it had been conducted thither by PYTHAGORAS and by the family of MISRA),

but in *Perſia* or *India*, which the founder of the *Italick* ſect had viſited with a ſimilar design. What the *Grecian* travellers learned among the fages of the eaſt, may perhaps be fully explained, at a ſeafon of leiuſe, in another diſſertation; but we confine this eſſay to a ſingular ſpecies of poeſy, which conſifts almoſt wholly of a myſti- cal religious allegory, though it ſeems on a tran- ſient view to contain only the ſentiments of a wild and voluptuous libertinism: now, admi- ting the danger of a poeſical ſtyle, in which the limits between vice and enthuiſiasm are ſo mi- nute as to be hardly diſtinguiſhable, we muſt beware of cenſuring it ſeverely, and muſt allow it to be natural, though a warm imagination may carry it to a culpable excefſ; for an ardently grateful piety is congenial to the undepraved nature of man, whose mind, ſinking under the magnitude of the ſubjeſt, and ſtruggling to ex- preſſ its emotions, has recourse to metaphors and allegories, which it ſometimes extends be- yond the bounds of cool reaſon, and often to the brink of abſurdity. BARROW, who would have been the ſublimeſt mathematician, if his religious turn of mind had not made him the deepest theologian of his age, deſcribes Love as “an affection or inclination of the ſoul toward “an object, proceeding from an apprehenſion “and esteem of ſome excellence or convenience

“ in it, as its *beauty*, worth, or utility, and producing, if it be absent, a proportionable desire, “ and consequently an endeavour, to obtain such “ a property in it, such possession of it, such an “ approximation to it, or union with it, as the “ thing is capable of ; with a regret and displeasure in failing to obtain it, or in the want and loss of it ; begetting likewise a complacence, satisfaction, and delight in its presence, possession, or enjoyment, which is moreover attended with a good will toward it, suitable to its nature ; that is, with a desire, that it should arrive at, or continue in, its best state ; with a delight to perceive it thrive and flourish ; with a displeasure to see it suffer or decay ; with a consequent endeavour to advance it in all good and preserve it from all evil.” Agreeably to this description, which consists of two parts, and was designed to comprise the tender love of the Creator towards created spirits, the great philosopher bursts forth in another place, with his usual animation and command of language, into the following panegyrick on the pious love of human souls toward the Author of their happiness : “ Love is the sweetest and most delectable of all passions ; and, when by the conduct of wisdom it is directed in a rational way toward a worthy, congruous, and attainable object, it cannot otherwise than fill

“ the heart with ravishing delight ; such, in all  
“ respects superlatively such, is GOD ; who, in-  
“ finitely beyond all other things, deserveth our  
“ affection, as most perfectly amiable and de-  
“ sirable : as having obliged us by innumerable  
“ and inestimable benefits ; all the good, that  
“ we have ever enjoyed, or can ever expect,  
“ being derived from his pure bounty ; all  
“ things in the world, in competition with him  
“ being mean and ugly ; all things, without  
“ him, vain, unprofitable, and hurtful to us.  
“ He is the most proper object of our love ; for  
“ we chiefly were framed, and it is the prime law  
“ of our nature, to love him ; *our soul, from its*  
“ *original instinct, vergeth toward him as its cen-*  
“ *tre, and can have no rest, till it be fixed on him :*  
“ he alone can satisfy the vast capacity of our  
“ minds, and fill our boundless desires. He, of  
“ all lovely things, most certainly and easily  
“ may be attained ; for, whereas commonly men  
“ are crossed in their affection, and their love is  
“ embittered from their affecting things ima-  
“ ginary, which they cannot reach, or coy things,  
“ which disdain and reject them, it is with GOD  
“ quite otherwise : He is most ready to impart  
“ himself ; he most earnestly desireth and woo-  
“ eth our love ; he is not only most willing to  
“ correspond in affection, but even doth pre-  
“ vent us therein : *He doth cherish and encourage*

“ our love by sweetest influences and most consoling  
“ embraces ; by kindest expressions of favour,  
“ by most beneficial returns ; and, whereas all  
“ other objects do in the enjoyment much fail  
“ our expectation, he doth ever far exceed it.  
“ Wherefore in all affectionate motions of our  
“ hearts toward GOD ; in *desiring* him, or seek-  
“ ing his favour and friendship ; in *embracing*  
“ him, or setting our esteem, our good will, our  
“ confidence on him ; in *enjoying* him by devo-  
“ tional meditations and addresses to him ; in a  
“ reflective sense of our interest and propriety  
“ in him ; in *that mysterious union of spirit,*  
“ whereby we do closely adhere to, and are, as it  
“ were, inserted in him ; in a hearty complacence  
“ in his benignity, a grateful sense of his kind-  
“ nesses, and a zealous desire of yielding some re-  
“ quital for it, we cannot but feel very pleasant  
“ transports : indeed, that celestial flame, kin-  
“ dled in our hearts by the spirit of love, cannot  
“ be void of warmth ; we cannot fix our eyes  
“ upon *infinite beauty*, we cannot taste infinite  
“ sweetness, we cannot cleave to infinite felicity,  
“ without also perpetually rejoicing in the first  
“ daughter of Love to GOD, Charity toward  
“ men ; which, in complexion and careful dis-  
“ position, doth much resemble her mother ; for  
“ she doth rid us from all those gloomy, keen,  
“ turbulent imaginations and passions, which  
“ cloud our mind, which fret our heart, which

“ discompose the frame of our soul ; from  
 “ burning anger, from storming contention,  
 “ from gnawing envy, from rankling spite, from  
 “ racking suspicion, from distracting ambition  
 “ and avarice ; and consequently doth settle our  
 “ mind in an even temper, in a sedate humour,  
 “ in an harmonious order, in *that pleasant state*  
 “ *of tranquillity, which naturally doth result from*  
 “ *the voidance of irregular passions.*” Now this  
 passage from BARROW (which borders, I admit,  
 on quietism and enthusiastic devotion) differs  
 only from the mystical theology of the *Súfi's*  
 and *Yógis*, as the flowers and fruits of *Europe*  
 differ in scent and flavour from those of *Asia*, or  
 as *European* differs from *Asiatick* eloquence ;  
 the same strain, in poetical measure, would rise  
 up to the odes of SPENSER on *Divine Love* and  
*Beauty*, and, in a higher key with richer embellish-  
 ments, to the songs of HAFIZ and JAYA-  
 DE'VA, the raptures of the *Masnaví*, and the  
 mysteries of the *Bhágavat*.

Before we come to the *Persians* and *Indians*,  
 let me produce another specimen of *European*  
 theology, collected from a late excellent work  
 of the illustrious M. NECKER. “ Were men  
 “ animated, says he, with sublime thoughts, did  
 “ they respect the intellectual power, with which  
 “ they are adorned, and take an interest in the  
 “ dignity of their nature, they would embrace  
 “ with transport that sense of religion, which

“ ennobles their faculties, keeps their minds in  
“ full strength, and unites them in idea with  
“ him, whose immensity overwhelms them with  
“ astonishment: *considering themselves as an eman-*  
“ *nation from that infinite Being*, the source and  
“ cause of all things, they would then disdain to  
“ be misled by a gloomy and false philosophy,  
“ and would cherish the idea of a GOD, who  
“ *created*, who *regenerates*, who *preserves* this  
“ universe by invariable laws, and by a conti-  
“ nued chain of similar causes producing similar  
“ effects; who pervades all nature with his di-  
“ vine spirit, as an universal soul, which moves,  
“ directs, and restrains the wonderful fabrick of  
“ this world. The blissful idea of a GOD sweet-  
“ ens every moment of our time, and embel-  
“ lishes before us the path of life; unites us  
“ delightfully to all the beauties of nature, and  
“ associates us with every thing that lives or  
“ moves. Yes; the whisper of the gales, the  
“ murmur of waters, the peaceful agitation of  
“ trees and shrubs, would concur to engage our  
“ minds and *affect our souls with tenderness*, if  
“ our thoughts were elevated to *one universal*  
“ *cause*, if we recognized on all sides the work  
“ of *Him, whom we love*; if we marked the  
“ traces of his august steps and benignant inten-  
“ tions, if we believed ourselves actually present  
“ at the display of his boundless power and the

“ magnificent exertions of his unlimited goodness. Benevolence, among all the virtues, “ has a character more than human, and a certain amiable simplicity in its nature, which “ seems analogous to the *first idea*, the original “ intention of conferring delight, which we “ necessarily suppose in the Creator, when we “ presume to seek his motive in bestowing existence: benevolence is that virtue, or, to “ speak more emphatically, that *primordial beauty*, “ which preceded all times and all worlds; and, “ when we reflect on it, there appears an analogy, obscure indeed at present, and to us imperfectly known, between our moral nature “ and a time yet very remote, when we shall “ satisfy our ardent wishes and lively hopes, “ which constitute perhaps a sixth, and (if the “ phrase may be used) a distant, sense. It may “ even be imagined, that love, the brightest ornament of our nature, love, enchanting and sublime, is a mysterious pledge for the assurance of those hopes; since love, by disengaging us from ourselves, by transporting us “ beyond the limits of our own being, is the “ first step in our progress to a joyful immortality; and, by affording both the notion and “ example of a cherished object distinct from “ our own souls, may be considered as an interpreter to our hearts of something, which

“ our intellects cannot conceive. We may seem  
 “ even to hear the Supreme Intelligence and  
 “ Eternal Soul of all nature, give this commis-  
 “ sion to the spirits, which emanated from him :  
 “ Go ; admire a small portion of my works, and  
 “ study them ; make your first trial of happiness,  
 “ and learn to love him, who bestowed it ; but seek  
 “ not to remove the veil spread over the secret of  
 “ your existence : your nature is composed of those  
 “ divine particles, which, at an infinite distance,  
 “ constitute my own essence ; but you would be too  
 “ near me, were you permitted to penetrate the  
 “ mystery of our separation and union : wait the  
 “ moment ordained by my wisdom ; and, until that  
 “ moment come, hope to approach me only by adora-  
 “ tion and gratitude.”

If these two passages were translated into *Sanskrit* and *Persian*, I am confident, that the *Védántis* and *Súfis* would consider them as an epitome of their common system ; for they concur in believing, that the souls of men differ infinitely in *degree*, but not at all in *kind*, from the divine spirit, of which they are *particles*, and in which they will ultimately be absorbed ; that the spirit of God pervades the universe, always immediately present to his work, and consequently always in substance, that he alone is perfect benevolence, perfect truth, perfect beauty ; that the love of him alone is *real* and

genuine love, while that of all other objects is *absurd* and illusory, that the beauties of nature are faint resemblances, like images in a mirror, of the divine charms; that, from eternity without beginning to eternity without end, the supreme benevolence is occupied in bestowing happiness or the means of attaining it; that men can only attain it by performing their part of the *primal covenant* between them and the Creator; that nothing has a pure absolute existence but *mind* or *spirit*; that *material substances*, as the ignorant call them, are no more than gay *pictures* presented continually to our *minds* by the sempiternal Artist; that we must beware of attachment to such *phantoms*, and attach ourselves exclusively to God, who truly exists in us, as we exist solely in him; that we retain even in this forlorn state of separation from our beloved, the *idea* of *heavenly beauty*, and the *remembrance* of our *primeval vows*; that sweet musick, gentle breezes, fragrant flowers, perpetually renew the primary *idea*, refresh our fading memory, and melt us with tender affections; that we must cherish those affections, and by abstracting our souls from *vanity*, that is, from all but GOD, approximate to his essence, in our final union with which will consist our supreme beatitude. From these principles flow a thousand metaphors and

poetical figures, which abound in the sacred poems of the *Perfians* and *Hindus*, who seem to mean the same thing in substance, and differ only in expression as their languages differ in idiom ! The modern Su'FIS, who profess a belief in the *Koran*, suppose with great sublimity both of thought and of diction, an *express contract*, on the day of eternity without beginning, between the assemblage of created spirits and the supreme soul, from which they were detached, when a celestial voice pronounced these words, addressed to each spirit separately, “ Art thou “ not with thy Lord ? ” that is, art thou not bound by a solemn contract with him ? and all the spirits answered with one voice, “ Yes : ” hence it is, that *alist*, or *art thou not*, and *beli*, or *yes*, incessantly occur in the mystical verses of the *Perfians*, and of the *Turkish* poets, who imitate them, as the *Romans* imitated the *Greeks*. The *Hindus* describe the same covenant under the figurative notion, so finely expressed by ISAIAH, of a *nuptial contract* ; for considering GOD in the three characters of Creator, Regenerator and Preserver, and supposing the power of *Preservation* and *Benevolence* to have become incarnate in the person of CRISHNA, they represent him as married to RA'DHA', a word signifying *atonement*, *pacification*, or *satisfaction*, but applied allegorically to the *soul of man*, or

rather to the whole *asssemblage of created souls*, between whom and the benevolent Creator they suppose that *reciprocal* love, which BARROW describes with a glow of expression perfectly oriental, and which our most orthodox theologians believe to have been mystically *shadowed* in the song of SOLOMON, while they admit, that, in a *literal* sense, it is an epithalamium on the marriage of the sapient king with the princesses of *Egypt*. The very learned author of the prelections on sacred poetry declared his opinion, that the canticles were founded on historical truth, but involved an allegory of that sort, which he named *mystical*; and the beautiful poem on the loves of LAILI and MAJNUN by the inimitable NIZAMI (to say nothing of other poems on the same subject) is indisputably built on true history, yet avowedly allegorical and mysterious; for the introduction to it is a continued rapture on *divine love*; and the name of LAILI seems to be used in the *Masnavi* and the odes of HAFIZ for the omnipresent spirit of GOD.

It has been made a question, whether the poems of HAFIZ must be taken in a literal or in a figurative sense; but the question does not admit of a general and direct answer; for even the most enthusiastick of his commentators allow, that some of them are to be taken literally, and his editors ought to have distinguished

them, as our SPENSER has distinguished his four Odes on *Love* and *Beauty*, instead of mixing the profane with the divine, by a childish arrangement according to the alphabetical order of the rhymes. HAFIZ never pretended to more than human virtues, and it is known that he had human propensities; for in his youth he was passionately in love with a girl furname<sup>d</sup> *Shákki Nebát*, or *the Branch of Sugarcane*, and the prince of *Shiraz* was his rival: since there is an agreeable wildness in the story, and since the poet himself alludes to it in one of his odes, I give it you at length from the commentary. There is a place called *Pirisebz*, or *the Green old man*, about four *Persian* leagues from the city; and a popular opinion had long prevailed, that a youth, who should pass forty successive nights in *Pirisebz* without sleep, would infallibly become an excellent poet: young HAFIZ had accordingly made a vow, that he would serve that apprenticeship with the utmost exactness, and for thirty-nine days he rigorously discharged his duty, walking every morning before the house of his coy mistress, taking some refreshment and rest at noon, and passing the night awake at his poetical station; but, on the fortieth morning, he was transported with joy on seeing the girl beckon to him through the lattices, and invite him to enter: she received him

with rapture, declared her preference of a bright genius to the son of a king, and would have detained him all night, if he had not recollected his vow, and, resolving to keep it inviolate, returned to his post. The people of *Shiraz* add (and the fiction is grounded on a couplet of HAFIZ), that, early next morning *an old man, in a green mantle*, who was no less a personage than KHIZR himself, approached him at *Pirisebz* with a cup brimful of nectar, which the Greeks would have called the water of *Aganippe*, and rewarded his perseverance with an inspiring draught of it. After his juvenile passions had subsided, we may suppose that his mind took that religious bent, which appears in most of his compositions; for there can be no doubt that the following distichs, collected from different odes, relate to the mystical theology of the *Sufis*:

“ In eternity without beginning, a ray of thy  
“ beauty began to gleam ; when Love sprang  
“ into being, and cast flames over all nature ;

“ On that day thy cheek sparkled even under  
“ thy veil, and all this beautiful imagery ap-  
“ peared on the mirror of our fancies.

“ Rise, my soul ; that I may pour thee forth  
“ on the pencil of that supreme Artist, who  
“ comprised in a turn of his compass all this  
“ wonderful scenery !

“ From the moment, when I heard the divine sentence, *I have breathed into man a portion of my spirit,* I was assured; that we were “ His, and He ours.

“ Where are the glad tidings of union with “ thee, that I may abandon all desire of life? “ I am a bird of holiness, and would fain escape “ from the net of this world.

“ Shed, O Lord, from the cloud of heavenly “ guidance one cheering shower, before the “ moment, when I must rise up like a particle “ of dry dust!

“ The sum of our transactions in this universe, is nothing: bring us the wine of devotion; for the possessions of this world vanish.

“ The true object of heart and soul is the “ glory of union with our beloved: that object “ really exists, but without it both heart and soul “ would have no existence.

“ O the bliss of that day, when I shall depart “ from this desolate mansion; shall seek rest for “ my soul; and shall follow the traces of my “ beloved:

“ Dancing, with love of his beauty, like a mote in a sun-beam, till I reach the spring and fountain of light, whence yon sun derives all “ his lustre!”

The couplets, which follow, relate as indubitably to human love and sensual gratifications:

“ May the hand never shake, which gathered  
“ the grapes ! May the foot never slip, which  
“ pressed them !

“ That poignant liquor, which the zealot calls  
“ *the mother of sins*, is pleasanter and sweeter to  
“ me than the kisses of a maiden.

“ Wine two years old and a damsel of four-  
“ teen are sufficient society for me, above all  
“ companies great or small.

“ How delightful is dancing to lively notes  
“ and the cheerful melody of the flute, espe-  
“ cially when we touch the hand of a beautiful  
“ girl !

“ *Call for wine, and scatter flowers around :*  
“ *what more canst thou ask from fate ?* Thus  
“ spoke the nightingale this morning : what  
“ fayest thou, sweet rose, to his precepts ?

“ Bring thy couch to the garden of roses, that  
“ thou mayest kiss the cheeks and lips of lovely  
“ damsels, quaff rich wine, and smell odoriferous  
“ blossoms.

“ O branch of an exquisite rose-plant, for  
“ whose sake dost thou grow ? Ah ! on whom  
“ will that smiling rose-bud confer delight ?

“ The rose would have discoursed on the  
“ beauties of my charmer, but the gale was  
“ jealous, and stole her breath, before she  
“ spoke.

“ In this age, the only friends, who are free

"from blemish, are a flask of pure wine and a volume of elegant love songs.

"O the joy of that moment, when the self-sufficiency of inebriation rendered me independent of the prince and of his minister!"

Many zealous admirers of HA'FIZ insist, that by *wine* he invariably means *devotion*; and they have gone so far as to compose a dictionary of words in the *language*, as they call it, of the *Súfis*: in that vocabulary *sleep* is explained by *meditation* on the divine perfections, and *perfume* by *hope* of the divine favour; *gales* are *illapses* of grace; *kisses* and *embraces*, the *raptures* of piety; *idolaters*, *infidels*, and *libertines* are men of the purest *religion*, and their *idol* is the Creator himself; the *tavern* is a retired oratory, and its *keeper*, a sage instructor; *beauty* denotes the *perfection* of the Supreme Being; *tresses* are the *expansion* of his glory; *lips*, the hidden mysteries of his essence; *down* on the cheek, the world of spirits, who encircle his throne; and a *black mole*, the *point* of indivisible unity; lastly, *wantonness*, *mirth*, and *ebriety*, mean religious ardour and abstraction from all terrestrial thoughts. The poet himself gives a colour in many passages to such an interpretation; and without it, we can hardly conceive, that his poems, or those of his numerous imitators, would be tolerated in a *Muselman* country, es-

pecially at *Constantinople*, where they are venerated as divine compositions: it must be admitted, that the sublimity of the *mystical allegory*, which, like metaphors and comparasons, should be *general* only, not minutely exact, is diminished, if not destroyed, by an attempt at *particular* and *distinct resemblances*; and that the style itself is open to dangerous misinterpretation, while it supplies real infidels with a pretext for laughing at religion itself.

On this occasion I cannot refrain from producing a most extraordinary ode by a *Súfi* of *Bokhárà*, who assumed the poetical surname of *ISMAT*: a more modern poet, by prefixing three lines to each couplet, which rhyme with the first hemistich, has very elegantly and ingeniously converted the *Kasidah* into a *Mokhammes*, but I present you only with a literal version of the original distichs :

“ Yesterday, half inebriated, I passed by the  
“ quarter, where the vintners dwell, to seek the  
“ daughter of an infidel who sells wine.

“ At the end of the street, there advanced  
“ before me a damsel with a fairy’s cheeks, who,  
“ in the manner of a pagan, wore her tresses  
“ dishevelled over her shoulder like the sacer-  
“ dotal thread. I said : O thou, to the arch of  
“ whose eye-brow the new moon is a slave, what  
“ quarter is this and where is thy mansion ?

“ She answered: *Cast thy rosary on the ground; bind on thy shoulder the thread of paganism; throw stones at the glass of piety; and quaff wine from a full goblet;*

“ *After that come before me, that I may whisper a word in thine ear: thou wilt accomplish thy journey, if thou listen to my discourse.*

“ Abandoning my heart and rapt in ecstasy, I ran after her, till I came to a place, in which religion and reason forsook me.

“ At a distance I beheld a company, all insane and inebriated, who came boiling and roaring with ardour from the wine of love;

“ Without cymbals, or lutes, or viols, yet all full of mirth and melody; without wine, or goblet, or flask, yet all incessantly drinking.

“ When the cord of restraint slipped from my hand, I desired to ask her one question, “ but she said: *Silence!*

“ *This is no square temple, to the gate of which thou canst arrive precipitately: this is no mosque to which thou canst come with tumult, but without knowledge. This is the banquet-house of infidels, and within it all are intoxicated; all, from the dawn of eternity to the day of resurrection, lost in astonishment.*

“ *Depart then from the cloister, and take the way to the tavern; cast off the cloak of a dervise, and wear the robe of a libertine.*

“ I obeyed ; and, if thou desirest the same strain and colour with ISMAT, imitate him; “ and sell this world and the next for one drop “ of pure wine.”

Such is the strange religion, and stranger language of the *Súfis*; but most of the *Asiatick* poets are of that religion, and, if we think it worth while to read their poems, we must think it worth while to understand them : their great *Maulaví* assures us, that “ they profess eager desire, but with no carnal affection, and circulate the cup, but no material goblet ; since all things are spiritual in their sect, all is mystery within mystery ;” consistently with which declaration he opens his astonishing work, entitled the *Masnaví*, with the following couplets :

Hear, how yon reed in sadly-pleasing tales  
 Departed bliss and present wo bewails !  
 ‘ With me, from native banks untimely torn,  
 ‘ Love-warbling youths and soft-ey’d virgins mourn.  
 ‘ O ! Let the heart, by fatal absence rent,  
 ‘ Feel what I sing, and bleed when I lament :  
 ‘ Who roams in exile from his parent bow’r,  
 ‘ Pants to return, and chides each ling’ring hour.  
 ‘ My notes, in circles of the grave and gay,  
 ‘ Have hail’d the rising, cheer’d the closing day :  
 ‘ Each in my fond affections claim’d a part,  
 ‘ But none discern’d the secret of my heart.  
 ‘ What though my strains and sorrows flow combin’d !  
 ‘ Yet ears are slow, and carnal eyes are blind.  
 ‘ Free through each mortal form the spirits roll,  
 ‘ But sight avails not. . Can we see the soul ?’

Such notes breath'd gently from yon vocal frame:  
Breath'd said I ? no ; 'twas all enliv'ning flame.  
'Tis love, that fills the reed with warmth divine;  
'Tis love, that sparkles in the racy wine.  
Me, plaintive wand'rer from my peerless maid,  
The reed has fir'd, and all my soul betray'd.  
He gives the bane, and he with balsam cures ;  
Afflicts, yet sooths ; impassions, yet allures.  
Delightful pangs his am'rous tales prolong ;  
And LAILI's frantick lover lives in song.  
Not he, who reasons best, this wisdom knows :  
Ears only drink what rapt'rous tongues disclose.  
Nor fruitless deem the reed's heart-piercing pain :  
See sweetness dropping from the parted cane.  
Alternate hope and fear my days divide :  
I courted Grief, and Anguish was my bride.  
Flow on, sad stream of life ! I smile secure :  
THOU livest ! THOU, the purest of the pure !  
Rise ! vig'rous youth ! be free ; be nobly bold :  
Shall chains confine you, though they blaze with gold ?  
Go ; to your vase the gather'd main convey :  
What were your stores ? The pittance of a day !  
New plans for wealth your fancies would invent ;  
Yet shells, to nourish pearls, must lie content.  
The man, whose robe love's purple arrows rend  
Bids av'rice rest, and toils tumultuous end.  
Hail, heav'ly love ! true source of endlesg gains !  
Thy balm restores me, and thy skill sustains.  
Oh, more than GALEN learn'd, than PLATO wise !  
My guide, my law, my joy supreme arise !  
Love warms this frigid clay with mystick fire,  
And dancing mountains leap with young desire.  
Blest is the soul, that swims in feas of love,  
And long the life sustain'd by food above.  
With forms imperfect can perfection dwell ?  
Here pause, my song ; and thou, vain world, farewell.

A volume might be filled with similar passages from the *Súfi* poets ; from SA'IB, ORFÍ, MÍR KHOSRAU, JA'MI, HAZI'N, and SA'BÍK, who are next in beauty of composition to HA-FIZ and SADI, but next at a considerable distance ; from MESI'HÍ, the most elegant of their *Turkish* imitators ; from a few *Hindi* poets of our own times, and from IBNUL FÁ'RED, who wrote mystical odes in *Arabick* ; but we may close this account of the *Súfis* with a passage from the third book of the *BUSTAN*, the declared subject of which is *divine love* ; referring you for a particular detail of their metaphysics and theology to the *Dabístan* of MOHSANI FANI, and to the pleasing essay, called the *Junction of two Seas*, by that amiable and unfortunate prince, DA'RÁ SHECÚ'H :

“ The love of a being composed, like thyself,  
 “ of water and clay, destroys thy patience and  
 “ peace of mind ; it excites thee, in thy waking  
 “ hours with minute beauties, and engages thee,  
 “ in thy sleep, with vain imaginations : with  
 “ such real affection dost thou lay thy head on  
 “ her foot, that the universe, in comparison of  
 “ her, vanishes into nothing before thee ; and,  
 “ since thy gold allures not her eye, gold and  
 “ mere earth appear equal in thine. Not a  
 “ breath dost thou utter to any one else, for  
 “ with her thou hast no room for any other ;

" thou declarest that her abode is in thine eye,  
" or, when thou closest it, in thy heart ; thou  
" hast no fear of censure from any man ; thou  
" hast no power to be at rest for a moment ; if  
" she demands thy soul, it runs instantly to thy  
" lip ; and if she waves a cimeter over thee, thy  
" head falls immediately under it. Since an  
" absurd love, with its basis on air, affects thee  
" so violently, and commands with a sway so  
" despotic, canst thou wonder, that they, who  
" walk in the true path, are drowned in the sea  
" of mysterious adoration ? They disregard life  
" through affection for its giver ; they abandon  
" the world through remembrance of its maker ;  
" they are inebriated with the melody of amor-  
" ous complaints ; they remember their beloved,  
" and resign to him both this life and the next.  
" Through remembrance of God, they shun all  
" mankind : they are so enamoured of the cup-  
" bearer, that they spill the wine from the cup.  
" No panacea can heal them, for no mortal can  
" be apprized of their malady ; so loudly has  
" rung in their ears, from eternity without be-  
" ginning, the divine word *aleft*, with *beli*, the  
" tumultuous exclamation of all spirits. They  
" are a sect fully employed, but sitting in re-  
" tirement ; their feet are of earth, but their  
" breath is a flame : with a single yell they  
" could rend a mountain from its base ; with a

“ single cry they could throw a city into con-  
“ fusion: like wind, they are concealed and  
“ move nimbly; like stone, they are silent, yet  
“ repeat GOD’s praises. At early dawn their  
“ tears flow so copiously as to wash from their  
“ eyes the black powder of sleep: though the  
“ courser of their fancy ran so swiftly all night,  
“ yet the morning finds them left behind in  
“ disorder: night and day are they plunged in  
“ an ocean of ardent desire, till they are unable,  
“ through astonishment, to distinguish night from  
“ day. So enraptured are they with the beauty  
“ of Him, who decorated the human form, that  
“ with the beauty of the form itself, they have  
“ no concern; and, if ever they behold a beau-  
“ tiful shape, they see in it the mystery of  
“ GOD’s work.

“ The wife take not the husk in exchange  
“ for the kernel; and he, who makes that  
“ choice, has no understanding. He only has  
“ drunk the pure wine of unity, who has for-  
“ gotten, by remembering GOD, all things else  
“ in both worlds.”

Let us return to the *Hindus*, among whom we now find the same emblematical theology, which *Pythagoras* admired and adopted. The loves of CRISHNA and RADHA, or the reciprocal attraction between the divine goodness and the human foul, are told at large in the tenth

book of the *Bhágavat*, and are the subject of a little *Pastoral Drama*, entitled *Gitagóvinda*: it was the work of JAYADE'VA, who flourished, it is said, before CALIDAS, and was born, as he tells us himself, in CENDULI, which many believe to be in *Calinga*: but, since there is a town of a similar name in *Berdwan*, the natives of it insist that the finest lyrick poet of *India* was their countryman, and celebrate in honour of him an annual jubilee, passing a whole night in representing his drama, and in singing his beautiful songs. After having translated the *Gitagóvinda* word for word, I reduced my translation to the form, in which it is now exhibited; omitting only those passages, which are too luxuriant and too bold for an *European* taste, and the prefatory ode on the ten incarnations of VISHNU, with which you have been presented on another occasion: the phrases in *Italicks*, are the *burdens* of the several songs; and you may be assured, that not a single image or idea has been added by the translator.

## GÍTAGÓVINDA:

OR,

THE SONGS OF JAYADEVA.

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'THE firmament is obscured by clouds ; the woodlands are black with *Tamála*-trees ; that youth, who roves in the forest, will be fearful in the gloom of night : go, my daughter ; bring the wanderer home to my rustick mansion.' Such was the command of NANDA, the fortunate herdsman ; and hence arose the love of RA'DHA' and MA'DHAVA, who sported on the bank of *Yamunà*, or hastened eagerly to the secret bower.

If thy soul be delighted with the remembrance of HERI, or sensible to the raptures of love, listen to the voice of JAYADE'VA, whose notes are both sweet and brilliant. O THOU, who reclinest on the bosom of CAMALA' ; whose ears flame with gems, and whose locks are embellished with sylvan flowers ; thou, from whom the day star derived his effulgence, who slewest

the venom-breathing CA'LIYA, who beamedst, like a sun, on the tribe of YADU, that flourished like a lotos ; thou, who fittest on the plumage of GARURA, who, by subduing demons, gavest exquisite joy to the assembly of immortals ; thou, for whom the daughter of JANACA was decked in gay apparel, by whom DU'SHANA was overthrown ; thou, whose eye sparkles like the water-lily, who calledst three worlds into existence ; thou, by whom the rocks of *Mandar* were easily supported, who sippest nectar from the radiant lips of PEDMA', as the fluttering *Chacóra* drinks the moon-beams ; *be victorious, O HERI, lord of conquest.*

RA'DHA' sought him long in vain, and her thoughts were confounded by the fever of desire : she roved in the vernal morning among the twining *Vásantis* covered with soft blossoms, when a damsel thus addressed her with youthful hilarity : ‘ The gale, that has wantoned ‘ round the beautiful clove-plants, breathes now ‘ from the hills of *Maylaya* ; the circling ar- ‘ hours resound with the notes of the *Cócil* and ‘ the murmurs of honey-making swarms. Now ‘ the hearts of damsels, whose lovers travel at a ‘ distance, are pierced with anguish ; while the ‘ blossoms of *Bacul* are conspicuous among the ‘ flowrets covered with bees. The *Tamála*, ‘ with leaves dark and odorous, claims a tribute

from the musk, which it vanquishes ; and the  
 clustering flowers of the *Palāsa* resemble the  
 nails of CA'MA, with which he rends the hearts  
 of the young. The full-blown *Cēsara* gleams  
 like the sceptre of the world's monarch, Love ;  
 and the pointed thyrses of the *Cētaca* resembles  
 the darts, by which lovers are wounded. See  
 the bunches of *Pātali*-flowers filled with bees,  
 like the quiver of SMARA full of shafts ; while  
 the tender blossom of the *Caruna* smiles to see  
 the whole world laying shame aside. The far-  
 scented *Mādhavī* beautifies the trees, round  
 which it twines ; and the fresh *Mallicā* seduces  
 with rich perfume even the hearts of hermits ;  
 while the *Amra*-tree with blooming tresses is  
 embraced by the gay creeper *Atimucta*, and  
 the blue streams of *Yamunā* wind round the  
 groves of *Vrindāvan*. In this charming season,  
 which gives pain to separated lovers, young HERI  
 sports and dances with a company of damsels.  
 A breeze, like the breath of love, from the fra-  
 grant flowers of the *Cētaca*, kindles every  
 heart, whilst it perfumes the woods with the  
 dust, which it shakes from the *Mallicā* with  
 half-opened buds ; and the *Cōcila* bursts into  
 song, when he sees the blossoms glistening on  
 the lovely *Rasāla*.

The jealous RA'DHA' gave no answer ; and,  
 soon after, her officious friend, perceiving the

foe of MURA in the forest eager for the rapturous embraces of the herdsmen's daughters, with whom he was dancing, thus again addressed his forgotten mistress: ' With a garland of wild flowers descending even to the yellow mantle, ' that girds his azure limbs, distinguished by ' smiling cheeks and by ear-rings, that sparkle, ' as he plays, HERI *exults in the assemblage of amorous damsels*. One of them presses him ' with her swelling breast, while she warbles ' with exquisite melody. Another, affected by ' a glance from his eye, stands meditating on the ' lotos of his face. A third, on pretence of ' whispering a secret in his ear, approaches his ' temples, and kisses them with ardour. One ' seizes his mantle and draws him towards her, ' pointing to the bower on the banks of *Yamu-* ' *nà*, where elegant *Vanjulas* interweave their ' branches. He applauds another, who dances ' in the sportive circle, whilst her bracelets ring, ' as she beats time with her palms. Now he ' caresses one, and kisses another, smiling on a ' third with complacency; and now he chases ' her, whose beauty has most allured him. ' Thus the wanton HERI frolics, in the season ' of sweets, among the maids of *Vraja*, who ' rush to his embraces, as if he were Pleasure ' itself assuming a human form; and one of ' them, under a pretext of hymning his divine

‘perfections, whispers in his ear: “Thy lips,  
“my beloved, are nectar.”

RADHA remains in the forest; but resenting the promiscuous passion of HERI, and his neglect of her beauty, which he once thought superior, she retires to a bower of twining plants, the summit of which resounds with the hum-ming of swarms engaged in their sweet labours; and there, falling languid on the ground, she thus addresses her female companion. ‘*Though  
‘he take recreation in my absence, and smile on  
‘all around him, yet my soul remembers him,  
‘whose beguiling reed modulates a tune sweet-  
‘ened by the nectar of his quivering lip, while  
‘his ear sparkles with gems, and his eye darts  
‘amorous glances; Him, whose locks are decked  
‘with the plumes of peacocks resplendent with  
‘many-coloured moons, and whose mantle  
‘gleams like a dark blue cloud illumined with  
‘rain-bows; Him, whose graceful smile gives  
‘new lustre to his lips, brilliant and soft as a  
‘dewy leaf, sweet and ruddy as the blossom of  
‘Bandhujīva, while they tremble with eagerness  
‘to kiss the daughters of the herdsmen; Him,  
‘who disperses the gloom with beams from the  
‘jewels, which decorate his bosom, his wrists,  
‘and his ankles, on whose forehead shines a  
‘circlet of sandal-wood, which makes even the  
‘moon contemptible, when it fails through irra-*

' diated clouds ;. Him, whose ear-rings are  
 ' formed of entire gems in the shape of the fish  
 ' Macar on the banners of Love ; even the  
 ' yellow-robed God, whose attendants are the  
 ' chiefs of deities, of holy men, and of demons ;  
 ' Him, who reclines under a gay *Cadamba*-tree ;  
 ' who formerly delighted me, while he gracefully  
 ' waved in the dance, and all his soul sparkled  
 ' in his eye. My weak mind thus enumerates  
 ' his qualities ; and, though offended, strives to  
 ' banish offence. What else can it do ? It can-  
 ' not part with its affection for CRISHNA, whose  
 ' love is excited by other damsels, and who sports  
 ' in the absence of RA'DHA'. Bring, O friend,  
 ' that vanquisher of the demon CE'SI, to sport  
 ' with me, who am repairing to a secret bower,  
 ' who look timidly on all sides, who meditate  
 ' with amorous fancy on his divine transfigura-  
 ' tion. Bring him, whose discourse was once  
 ' composed of the gentlest words, to converse  
 ' with me, who am bashful on his first approach,  
 ' and express my thoughts with a smile sweet  
 ' as honey. Bring him, who formerly slept on  
 ' my bosom, to recline with me on a green bed  
 ' of leaves just gathered, while his lip sheds dew,  
 ' and my arms enfold him. Bring him, who  
 ' has attained the perfection of skill in love's art,  
 ' whose hand used to press these firm and delicate  
 ' spheres to play with me, whose voice rivals

‘ that of the *Cócil*, and whose tresses are bound  
 ‘ with waving blossoms. Bring him, who for-  
 ‘ merly drew me by the locks to his embrace,  
 ‘ to repose with me, whose feet tinkle, as they  
 ‘ move, with rings of gold and of gems, whose  
 ‘ loosened zone sounds, as it falls ; and whose  
 ‘ limbs are slender and flexible as the creeping  
 ‘ plant. That God, whose cheeks are beautified  
 ‘ by the nectar of his smiles, whose pipe drops  
 ‘ in his ecstasy, I saw in the grove encircled by  
 ‘ the damsels of *Vraja*, who gazed on him  
 ‘ askance from the corners of their eyes : I saw  
 ‘ him in the grove with happier damsels, yet  
 ‘ the sight of him delighted me. Soft is the  
 ‘ gale, which breathes over yon clear pool, and  
 ‘ expands the clustering blossoms of the voluble  
 ‘ *Asóca*; soft, yet grievous to me in the absence  
 ‘ of the foe of MADHU. Delightful are the  
 ‘ flowers of *Amra*-trees on the mountain-top,  
 ‘ while the murmuring bees pursue their volup-  
 ‘ tuous toil ; delightful, yet afflicting to me, O  
 ‘ friend, in the absence of the youthful CE-  
 ‘ SAVA.’

Meantime the destroyer of CANSÁ, having brought to his remembrance the amiable RA-  
 DHA’, forsook the beautiful damsels of *Vraja* : he sought her in all parts of the forest ; his old  
 wound from love’s arrow bled again ; he re-  
 pented of his levity, and, seated in a bower near

the bank of Yamunā, the blue daughter of the sun, thus poured forth his lamentation.

' She is departed—she saw me, no doubt,  
 ' surrounded by the wanton shepherdesses ;  
 ' yet, conscious of my fault, I durst not  
 ' intercept her flight. *Wo is me ! she feels a*  
*' sense of injured honour, and is departed in wrath.*  
 ' How will she conduct herself ? How will she  
 ' express her pain in so long a separation ?  
 ' What is wealth to me ? What are numerous at-  
 ' tendants ? What are the pleasures of the world ?  
 ' What joy can I receive from a heavenly abode ?  
 ' I seem to behold her face with eye-brows  
 ' contracting themselves through her just resent-  
 ' ment : it resembles a fresh lotos, over which  
 ' two black bees are fluttering : I seem, so pre-  
 ' sent is she to my imagination, even now to  
 ' caress her with eagerness. Why then do I  
 ' seek her in this forest ? Why do I lament  
 ' without cause ? O slender damsel, anger, I  
 ' know, has torn thy soft bosom ; but whither  
 ' thou art retired, I know not. How can I in-  
 ' vite thee to return ? Thou art seen by me, in-  
 ' deed, in a vision ; thou seemest to move be-  
 ' fore me. Ah ! why dost thou not rush, as  
 ' before, to my embrace ? Do but forgive me :  
 ' never again will I commit a similar offence.  
 ' Grant me but a sight of thee, O lovely RA'-  
 ' DHICA', for my passion torments me. I am

' not the terrible MAHE'SA : a garland of water-  
 ' lilies with subtil threads decks my shoulders ;  
 ' not serpents with twisted folds : the blue petals  
 ' of the lotos glitter on my neck ; not the azure  
 ' gleam of poison ; powdered sandal-wood is  
 ' sprinkled on my limbs ; not pale ashes : O  
 ' God of Love, mistake me not for MAHA'DE-  
 ' VA. Wound me not again ; approach me not  
 ' in anger ; I love already but too passionately ;  
 ' yet I have lost my beloved. Hold not in thy  
 ' hand that shaft barbed with an *Amra*-flower !  
 ' Brace not thy bow, thou conqueror of the  
 ' world ! Is it valour to slay one who faints ?  
 ' My heart is already pierced by arrows from  
 ' RA'DHA's eyes, black and keen as those of an  
 ' antelope ; yet mine eyes are not gratified with  
 ' her presence. Her eyes are full of shafts ; her  
 ' eye-brows are bows ; and the tips of her ears  
 ' are silken strings : thus armed by ANANGA,  
 ' the God of Desire, she marches, herself a god-  
 ' dess, to ensure his triumph over the vanquished  
 ' universe. I meditate on her delightful em-  
 ' brace, on the ravishing glances darted from  
 ' her eye, on the fragrant lotos of her mouth,  
 ' on her nectar-dropping speech ; on her lips  
 ' ruddy as the berries of the *Bimba* ; yet even  
 ' my fixed meditation on such an assemblage of  
 ' charms increases, instead of alleviating, the  
 ' misery of separation.'

The damsel, commissioned by RA'DHA', found  
the disconsolate God under an arbour of spreading  
*Vániras* by the side of *Yamunà*; where,  
presenting herself gracefully before him, she  
thus described the affliction of his beloved :

' She despises essence of sandal-wood, and  
' even by moon-light sits brooding over her  
' gloomy sorrow ; she declares the gale of *Ma-*  
' *laya* to be venom, and the sandal-trees, through  
' which it has breathed, to have been the haunt  
' of serpents. *Thus, O MA'DHAVA, is she af-*  
' *flicted in thy absence with the pain, which love's*  
' *dart has occasioned : her soul is fixed on thee.*  
' Fresh arrows of desire are continually assailing  
' her, and she forms a net of lotos-leaves as ar-  
' mour for her heart, which thou alone shouldst  
' fortify. She makes her own bed of the arrows  
' darted by the flowery-shafted God ; but, when  
' she hoped for thy embrace, she had formed for  
' thee a couch of soft blossoms. Her face is like  
' a water-lily, veiled in the dew of tears, and  
' her eyes appear like moons eclipsed, which let  
' fall their gathered nectar through pain caused  
' by the tooth of the furious dragon. She draws  
' thy image with musk in the character of the  
' Deity with five shafts, having subdued the  
' *Macar*, or horned shark, and holding an arrow  
' tipped with an *Amra*-flower ; thus **she draws**  
' thy picture, and worships it. At the close of

every sentence, “O MA'DHAVA, she ex-  
 claims, at thy feet am I fallen, and in thy ab-  
 fence even the moon, though it be a vase  
 full of nectar, inflames my limbs.” Then,  
 by the power of imagination, she figures thee  
 standing before her; thee, who art not easily  
 attained: she sighs, she smiles, she mourns, she  
 weeps, she moves from side to side, she la-  
 ments and rejoices by turns. Her abode is a  
 forest; the circle of her female companions is  
 a net; her sighs are flames of fire kindled in a  
 thicket; herself (alas! through thy absence)  
 is become a timid roe; and Love is the tiger,  
 who springs on her like YAMA, the Genius of  
 Death. So emaciated is her beautiful body,  
 that even the light garland, which waves over  
 her bosom, she thinks a load. *Such, O bright-  
 haired God, is RA'DHA' when thou art absent.*  
 If powder of sandal-wood finely levigated be  
 moistened and applied to her breasts, she starts,  
 and mistakes it for poison. Her sighs form a  
 breeze long extended, and burn her like the  
 flame, which reduced CANDARPA to ashes.  
 She throws around her eyes, like blue water-  
 lilies with broken stalks, dropping lucid streams.  
 Even her bed of tender leaves appear in her  
 sight like a kindled fire. The palm of her  
 hand supports her aching temple, motionless  
 as the crescent rising at eve. “HERI, HERI,”

' thus in silence she meditates on thy name, as  
 ' if her wish were gratified, and she were dying  
 ' through thy absence. She rends her locks;  
 ' she pants; she laments inarticulately; she  
 ' trembles; she pines; she muses; she moves  
 ' from place to place; she closes her eyes; she  
 ' falls; she rises again; she faints: in such a  
 ' fever of love, she may live, O celestial phy-  
 ' sician, if thou administer the remedy; but,  
 ' shouldst Thou be unkind, her malady will be  
 ' desperate. Thus, O divine healer, by the  
 ' nectar of thy love must RA'DHA' be restored  
 ' to health; and, if thou refuse it, thy heart  
 ' must be harder than the thunderstone. Long  
 ' has her soul pined, and long has she been  
 ' heated with sandal-wood, moon-light, and  
 ' water-lilies, with which others are cooled;  
 ' yet she patiently and in secret meditates on  
 ' Thee, who alone canst relieve her. Shouldst  
 ' thou be inconstant, how can she, wasted as she  
 ' is to a shadow, support life a single moment?  
 ' How can she, who lately could not endure  
 ' thy absence even an instant, forbear sighing  
 ' now, when she looks with half-closed eyes on  
 ' the *Rasāla* with bloomy branches, which re-  
 ' mind her of the vernal season, when she first  
 ' beheld thee with rapture?

' Here have I chosen my abode: go quickly  
 ' to RA'DHA'; soothe her with my message,

‘and conduct her hither.’ So spoke the foe of  
 MADHU to the anxious damsel, who hastened  
 back, and thus addressed her companion :  
 ‘Whilst a sweet breeze from the hills of *Malaya*  
 comes wafting on his plumes the young God  
 of Desire ; while many a flower points his ex-  
 tended petals to pierce the bosom of separated  
 lovers, *the Deity crowned with sylvan blossoms,*  
*laments, O friend, in thy absence.* Even the  
 dewy rays of the moon burn him ; and, as the  
 shaft of love is descending, he mourns inart-  
 culate with increasing distraction. When the  
 bees murmur softly, he covers his ears ; misery  
 sits fixed in his heart, and every returning  
 night adds anguish to anguish. He quits his  
 radiant palace for the wild forest, where he  
 sinks on a bed of cold clay, and frequently  
 mutters thy name. In yon bower, to which  
 the pilgrims of love are used to repair, he me-  
 ditates on thy form, repeating in silence some  
 enchanting word, which once dropped from  
 thy lips, and thirsting for the nectar which  
 they alone can supply. Delay not, O love-  
 liest of women ; follow the lord of thy heart ;  
 behold, he seeks the appointed shade, bright  
 with the ornaments of love, and confident of  
 the promised bliss. *Having bound his locks*  
*with forest-flowers, he hastens to yon arbour,*  
*where a soft gale-breathes over the banks of*

' Yamunà : there, again pronouncing thy name,  
 ' he modulates his divine reed. Oh ! with what  
 ' rapture doth he gaze on the golden duft, which  
 ' the breeze shakes from expanded blossoms ;  
 ' the breeze, which has kissed thy cheek ! With  
 ' a mind, languid as a dropping wing, feeble as  
 ' a trembling leaf, he doubtfully expects thy ap-  
 ' proach, and timidly looks on the path which  
 ' thou must tread. Leave behind thee, O friend,  
 ' the ring which tinkles on thy delicate ankle,  
 ' when thou sportest in the dance : hastily cast  
 ' over thee thy azure mantle, and run to the  
 ' gloomy bower. The reward of thy speed, O  
 ' thou who sparklest like lightning, will be to  
 ' shine on the blue bosom of MURARI, which  
 ' resembles a vernal cloud, decked with a string  
 ' of pearls like a flock of white water-birds flut-  
 ' tering in the air. Disappoint not, O thou  
 ' lotos-eyed, the vanquisher of MADHU ; ac-  
 ' complish his desire ; but go quickly : it is  
 ' night ; and the night also will quickly depart.  
 ' Again and again he sighs ; he looks around ;  
 ' he re-enters the arbour ; he can scarce articu-  
 ' late thy sweet name ; he again smooths his  
 ' flowery couch ; he looks wild ; he becomes  
 ' frantick ; thy beloved will perish through de-  
 ' sire. The bright-beamed God sinks in the  
 ' west, and thy pain of separation may also be  
 ' removed : the blackness of the night is in-

' creased, and the passionate imagination of GO-  
 \* VINDA has acquired additional gloom. My  
 ' address to thee has equalled in length and in  
 ' sweetness the song of the *Cócila*: delay will  
 ' make thee miserable, O my beautiful friend.  
 ' Seize the moment of delight in the place of  
 ' assignation with the son of DE'VACI, who de-  
 ' scended from heaven to remove the burdens of  
 ' the universe; he is a blue gem on the fore-  
 ' head of the three worlds, and longs to sip  
 ' honey, like the bee, from the fragrant lotos of  
 ' thy cheek.'

But the solicitous maid, perceiving that RA-  
 DHA' was unable, through debility, to move  
 from her arbour of flowery creepers, returned  
 to GO'VINDA, who was himself disordered with  
 love, and thus described her situation.

' *She mourns, O sovereign of the world, in her*  
 ' *verdant bower; she looks eagerly on all sides*  
 ' *in hope of thy approach; then, gaining*  
 ' *strength from the delightful idea of the pro-*  
 ' *posed meeting, she advances a few steps, and*  
 ' *falls languid on the ground. When she rises,*  
 ' *she weaves bracelets of fresh leaves; she dresses*  
 ' *herself like her beloved, and, looking at her-*  
 ' *self in sport, exclaims, "Behold the van-*  
 ' *quisher of MADHU!" Then she repeats again*  
 ' *and again the name of HERI, and, catching at*  
 ' *a dark blue cloud, strives to embrace it, say-*

‘ ing : “ It is my beloved who approaches.”  
 ‘ Thus, while thou art dilatory, she lies expect-  
 ‘ ing thee ; she mourns ; she weeps ; she puts  
 ‘ on her gayest ornaments to receive her lord ;  
 ‘ she compresses her deep sighs within her bo-  
 ‘ som ; and then, meditating on thee, O cruel,  
 ‘ she is drowned in a sea of rapturous imagina-  
 ‘ tions. If a leaf but quiver, she supposes thee  
 ‘ arrived ; she spreads her couch ; she forms in  
 ‘ her mind a hundred modes of delight : yet, if  
 ‘ thou go not to her bower, she must die this  
 ‘ night through excessive anguish.’

By this time the moon spread a net of beams over the groves of *Vrindávan*, and looked like a drop of liquid sandal on the face of the sky, which smiled like a beautiful damsel ; while its orb with many spots betrayed, as it were, a consciousness of guilt, in having often attended amorous maids to the loss of their family honour. The moon, with a black fawn couched on its disc, advanced in its nightly course ; but **MA'DHAVA** had not advanced to the bower of **RÁDHA'**, who thus bewailed his delay with notes of varied lamentation.

‘ The appointed moment is come ; but **HERI**,  
 ‘ alas ! comes not to the grove. Must the sea-  
 ‘ son of my unblemished youth pass thus idly  
 ‘ away ? Oh ! what refuge can I seek, deluded as  
 ‘ I am by the guile of my female adviser ? The

' God with five arrows has wounded my heart ;  
 ' and I am deserted by Him, for whose sake I  
 ' have sought at night the darkest recess of the  
 ' forest. Since my best beloved friends have  
 ' deceived me, it is my wish to die : since my  
 ' senses are disordered, and my bosom is on fire,  
 ' why stay I longer in this world ? The cool-  
 ' ness of this vernal night gives me pain, instead  
 ' of refreshment : some happier damsel enjoys  
 ' my beloved ; whilst I, alas ! am looking at  
 ' the gems in my bracelets, which are blackened  
 ' by the flames of my passion. My neck, more  
 ' delicate than the tenderest blossom, is hurt by  
 ' the garland, that encircles it : flowers are, in-  
 ' deed, the arrows of Love, and he plays with  
 ' them cruelly. I make this wood my dwell-  
 ' ing : I regard not the roughness of the *Vetas-*  
 ' trees ; but the destroyer of MADHU holds me  
 ' not in his remembrance ! Why comes he not  
 ' to the bower of bloomy *Vanjulas*, assigned for  
 ' our meeting ? Some ardent rival, no doubt,  
 ' keeps him locked in her embrace : or have his  
 ' companions detained him with mirthful recre-  
 ' ations ? Else why roams he not through the  
 ' cool shades ? Perhaps, the heart-sick lover is  
 ' unable through weakness to advance even a  
 ' step !—So saying, she raised her eyes ; and, seeing her damsel return silent and mournful,  
 unaccompanied by MADHAVA, she was alarmed

even to phrensy ; and, as if she actually beheld him in the arms of a rival, she thus described the vision which overpowered her intellect.

‘ Yes ; in habiliments becoming the war of  
 ‘ love, and with tresses waving like flowery  
 ‘ banners, *a damsel, more alluring than RA'DHA*,  
 ‘ enjoys the conqueror of MADHU. Her form is  
 ‘ transfigured by the touch of her divine lover ;  
 ‘ her garland quivers over her swelling bosom ;  
 ‘ her face like the moon is graced with clouds  
 ‘ of dark hair, and trembles, while she quaffs  
 ‘ the nectareous dew of his lip ; her bright ear-  
 ‘ rings dance over her cheeks, which they irra-  
 ‘ diate ; and the small bells on her girdle tinkle  
 ‘ as she moves. Bashful at first, she smiles at  
 ‘ length on her embracer, and expresses her joy  
 ‘ with inarticulate murmurs ; while she floats  
 ‘ on the waves of desire, and closes her eyes  
 ‘ dazzled with the blaze of approaching CA'MA :  
 ‘ and now this heroine in love's warfare falls  
 ‘ exhausted and vanquished by the resistless  
 ‘ MURA'RI, but alas ! in my bosom prevails the  
 ‘ flame of jealousy, and yon moon, which dis-  
 ‘ pels the sorrow of others, increases mine. See  
 ‘ again, where the *foe of MURA* sports in yon  
 ‘ grove on the bank of the Yamunà ! See, how  
 ‘ he kisses the lip of my rival, and imprints on  
 ‘ her forehead an ornament of pure musk, black  
 ‘ as the young antelope on the lunar orb ! Now,

like the husband of RETI, he fixes white blossoms on her dark locks, where they gleam like flashes of lightning among the curled clouds. On her breasts, like two firmaments, he places a string of gems like a radiant constellation: he binds on her arms, graceful as the stalks of the water-lily, and adorned with hands glowing like the petals of its flower, a bracelet of sapphires, which resemble a cluster of bees. Ah! see, how he ties round her waist a rich girdle illumined with golden bells, which seem to laugh, as they tinkle, at the inferior brightness of the leafy garlands, which lovers hang on their bowers to propitiate the God of Desire. He places her soft foot, as he reclines by her side, on his ardent bosom, and stains it with the ruddy hue of Yávaca. Say, my friend, why pass I my nights in this tangled forest without joy, and without hope, while the faithless brother of HALADHERA clasps my rival in his arms? Yet why, my companion, shouldst thou mourn, though my perfidious youth has disappointed me? What offence is it of thine, if he sport with a crowd of damsels happier than I? Mark, how my soul, attracted by his irresistible charms, bursts from its mortal frame, and rushes to mix with its beloved. *She, whom the God enjoys, crowned with sylvan flowers, fits carelessly on a bed of*

leaves with Him, whose wanton eyes refresh  
ble blue water-lilies agitated by the breeze.  
She feels no flame from the gales of *Malaya*  
with Him, whose words are sweeter than the  
water of life. She derides the shafts of soul-  
born *YAMA*, with Him, whose lips are like a  
red lotos in full bloom. She is cooled by the  
moon's dewy beams, while she reclines with  
Him, whose hands and feet glow like vernal  
flowers. No female companion deludes her,  
while she sports with Him, whose vesture  
blazes like tried gold. She faints not through  
excess of passion, while she caresses that youth,  
who surpasses in beauty the inhabitants of all  
worlds. O gale, scented with sandal, who  
breathest love from the regions of the south, be  
propitious but for a moment: when thou hast  
brought my beloved before my eyes, thou  
mayest freely waft away my soul. Love, with  
eyes like blue water-lilies, again assails me and  
triumphs; and, while the perfidy of my be-  
loved rends my heart, my female friend is my  
foe, the cool breeze scorches me like a flame,  
and the nectar-dropping moon is my poison.  
Bring disease and death, O gale of *Malaya*!  
Seize my spirit, O God with five arrows! I  
ask not mercy from thee: no more will I  
dwell in the cottage of my father. Receive  
me in thy azure waves, O sister of *YAMA*,

'that the ardour of my heart may be val-  
'layed!'

Pierced by the arrows of love, she passed the night in the agonies of despair, and at early dawn thus rebuked her lover, whom she saw lying prostrate before her and imploring her forgiveness.

' Alas ! alas ! Go, MA'DHAVA, depart, O  
' CE'SAVA ; speak not the language of guile ;  
' follow her, O lotos-eyed God, follow her, who  
' dispels thy care. Look at his eye half-opened,  
' red with continued waking through the plea-  
'surable night, yet smiling still with affection  
' for my rival ! Thy teeth, O cerulean youth,  
' are azure as thy complexion from the kisses,  
' which thou hast imprinted on the beautiful  
' eyes of thy darling graced with dark blue  
' powder ; and thy limbs marked with punc-  
' tures in love's warfare, exhibit a letter of  
' conquest, written on polished sapphires with  
' liquid gold. That broad bosom, stained by  
' the bright lotos of her foot, displays a vesture  
' of ruddy leaves over the tree of thy heart,  
' which trembles within it. The pressure of  
' her lip on thine wounds me to the soul. Ah !  
' how canst thou assert, that we are one, since  
' our sensations differ thus widely ? Thy soul,  
' O dark-limbed God, shows its blackness exter-  
'nally. How couldst thou deceive a girl, who

' relied on thee ; a girl who burned in the fever of love ? Thou rovest in woods, and females are thy prey : what wonder ? Even thy childish heart was malignant ; and thou gavest death to the nurse, who would have given thee milk. Since thy tenderness for me, of which these forests used to talk, has now vanished, and since thy breast, reddened by the feet of my rival, glows as if thy ardent passion for her were bursting from it, the sight of thee, O deceiver, makes me (ah ! must I say it ?) blush at my own affection.'

Having thus inveighed against her beloved, she sat overwhelmed in grief, and silently meditated on his charms ; when her damsel softly addressed her.

' He is gone : the light air has wafted him away. What pleasure now, my beloved, remains in thy mansion ? Continue not, resentful woman, thy indignation against the beautiful MA'DHAVA. Why shouldst thou render vain those round smooth vases, ample and ripe as the sweet fruit of yon *Tála*-tree ? How often and how recently have I said : " forsake not the blooming HERI ?" Why fittest thou so mournful ? Why weepest thou with distraction, when the damsels are laughing around thee ? Thou hast formed a couch of soft lotus-leaves : let thy darling charm thy sight, while

‘ he reposes on it. Afflict not thy soul with  
 ‘ extreme anguish ; but attend to my words,  
 ‘ which conceal no guile. Suffer CE'SAVA to  
 ‘ approach : let him speak with exquisite sweet-  
 ‘ ness, and dissipate all thy sorrows. If thou art  
 ‘ harsh to him, who is amiable ; if thou art  
 ‘ proudly silent, when he deprecates thy wrath  
 ‘ with lowly prostrations ; if thou shovest aver-  
 ‘ sion to him, who loves thee passionately ; if,  
 ‘ when he bends before thee, thy face be turned  
 ‘ contemptuously away ; by the same rule of  
 ‘ contrariety, the dust of sandal-wood, which  
 ‘ thou hast sprinkled, may become poison ; the  
 ‘ moon, with cool beams, a scorching sun ; the  
 ‘ fresh dew, a consuming flame ; and the sports  
 ‘ of love be changed into agony.’

MA'DHAVA was not absent long : he returned  
 to his beloved ; whose cheeks were heated by  
 the sultry gale of her sighs. Her anger was di-  
 minished, not wholly abated ; but she secretly  
 rejoiced at his return, while the shades of night  
 also were approaching, she looked abashed at  
 her damsel, while He, with faltering accents,  
 implored her forgiveness.

‘ Speak but one mild word, and the rays of  
 ‘ thy sparkling teeth will dispel the gloom of  
 ‘ my fears. My trembling lips, like thirsty  
 ‘ Chacoras, long to drink the moon-beams of  
 ‘ thy cheek. O my darling, who art naturally

' so tender-hearted, abandon thy causeless indignation. At this moment the flame of desire consumes my heart : Oh ! grant me a draught of honey from the lotos of thy mouth. Or, if thou beest inexorable, grant me death from the arrows of thy keen eyes ; make thy arms my chains ; and punish me according to thy pleasure. Thou art my life ; thou art my ornament ; thou art a pearl in the ocean of my mortal birth : oh ! be favourable now, and my heart shall eternally be grateful. Thine eyes, which nature formed like blue water-lilies, are become, through thy resentment, like petals of the crimson lotos : oh ! tinge with their effulgence these my dark limbs, that they may glow like the shafts of Love tipped with flowers. Place on my head that foot like a fresh leaf, and shade me from the sun of my passion, whose beams I am unable to bear. Spread a string of gems on those two soft globes ; let the golden bells of thy zone tinkle, and proclaim the mild edict of love.. Say, O damsel with delicate speech, shall I dye red with the juice of *alactaca* those beautiful feet, which will make the full-blown land-lotos blush with shame ? Abandon thy doubts of my heart, now indeed fluttering through fear of thy displeasure, but hereafter to be fixed wholly on thee ; a heart, which has no room in it for

' another : none else can enter it, but Love, the  
 ' bodiless God. Let him wing his arrows ; let  
 ' him wound me mortally ; decline not, O  
 ' cruel, the pleasure of seeing me expire. Thy  
 ' face is bright as the moon, though its beams  
 ' drop the venom of maddening desire : let thy  
 ' nectareous lip be the charmer, who alone has  
 ' power to lull the serpent or supply an antidote  
 ' for his poison. Thy silence afflicts me : oh !  
 ' speak with the voice of musick, and let thy  
 ' sweet accents allay my ardour. Abandon thy  
 ' wrath, but abandon not a lover, who surpasses  
 ' in beauty the sons of men, and who kneels  
 ' before thee, O thou most beautiful among  
 ' women. Thy lips are a *Bandhujiva*-flower ;  
 ' the lustre of the *Madhuca* beams on thy cheek ;  
 ' thine eye outshines the blue lotos ; thy nose  
 ' is a bud of the *Tila* ; the *Cunda*-blossom yields  
 ' to thy teeth : thus the flowery-shafted God  
 ' borrows from thee the points of his darts, and  
 ' subdues the universe. Surely, thou descendest  
 ' from heaven, O slender damsel, attended by a  
 ' company of youthful goddesses ; and all their  
 ' beauties are collected in thee.'

He spake ; and, seeing her appeased by his  
 homage, flew to his bower, clad in a gay man-  
 tle. The night now veiled all visible objects ;  
 and the damsel thus exhorted RĀ'DHĀ', while  
 she decked her with beaming ornaments.

‘ Follow, gentle RA’DHICA’, follow the foe of  
 ‘ MADHU: his discourse was elegantly com-  
 ‘ posed of sweet phrases; he prostrated himself  
 ‘ at thy feet; and he now hastens to his de-  
 ‘ lightful couch by yon grove of branching  
 ‘ *Vanjulas*. Bind round thy ankle rings beam-  
 ‘ ing with gems; and advance with mincing  
 ‘ steps, like the pearl-fed *Marála*. Drink with  
 ‘ ravished ears the soft accents of HERI; and  
 ‘ feast on love, while the warbling *Cócillas* obey  
 ‘ the mild ordinance of the flower-darting God.  
 ‘ Abandon delay: see, the whole assembly of  
 ‘ slender plants, pointing to the bower with  
 ‘ fingers of young leaves agitated by the gale,  
 ‘ make signals for thy departure. Ask those  
 ‘ two round hillocks, which receive pure dew-  
 ‘ drops from the garland playing on thy neck,  
 ‘ and the buds on whose top start aloft with the  
 ‘ thought of thy darling; ask, and they will tell,  
 ‘ that thy soul is intent on the warfare of love;  
 ‘ advance, fervid warrior, advance with alacrity,  
 ‘ while the sound of thy tinkling waist-bells  
 ‘ shall represent martial musick. Lead with  
 ‘ thee some favoured maid; grasp her hand  
 ‘ with thine, whose fingers are long and smooth  
 ‘ as love’s arrows: march; and, with the noise  
 ‘ of thy bracelets, proclaim thy approach to the  
 ‘ youth, who will own himself thy slave: “She  
 ‘ will come; she will exult on beholding me;

“ she will pour accents of delight ; she will en-  
 “ fold me with eager arms ; she will melt with  
 “ affection :” Such are his thoughts at this mo-  
 ‘ ment : and, thus thinking, he looks through  
 ‘ the long avenue ; he trembles ; he rejoices ;  
 ‘ he burns ; he moves from place to place ; he  
 ‘ faints, when he sees thee not coming, and falls  
 ‘ in his gloomy bower. The night now dresses  
 ‘ in habiliments fit for secrecy, the many dam-  
 ‘ sels, who hasten to their places of assignation :  
 ‘ she sets off with blackness their beautiful eyes ;  
 ‘ fixes dark *Tamala*-leaves behind their ears ;  
 ‘ decks their locks with the deep azure of water-  
 ‘ lilies, and sprinkles musk on their panting bo-  
 ‘ soms. The nocturnal sky, black as the touch-  
 ‘ stone, tries now the gold of their affection, and  
 ‘ is marked with rich lines from the flashes of  
 ‘ their beauty, in which they surpass the brightest  
 ‘ *Cashmirians*.’

RA'DHA', thus incited, tripped through the forest ; but shame overpowered her, when, by the light of innumerable gems, on the arms, the feet, and the neck of her beloved, she saw him at the door of his flowery mansion : then her damsel again addressed her with ardent exultation.

‘ Enter, sweet RA'DHA', the bower of HERI :  
 ‘ seek delight, O thou, whose bosom laughs  
 ‘ with the foretaste of happiness. Enter, sweet

' RA'DHA', the bower graced with a bed of  
 ' *Asóca* leaves: seek delight, O thou, whose  
 ' garland leaps with joy on thy breast. Enter,  
 ' sweet RA'DHA', the bower illumined with gay  
 ' blossoms; seek delight, O thou, whose limbs  
 ' far excel them in softness. Enter, O RA'DHA',  
 ' the bower made cool and fragrant by gales  
 ' from the woods of *Malaya*: seek delight, O  
 ' thou, whose amorous lays are softer than  
 ' breezes. Enter, O RA'DHA', the bower spread  
 ' with leaves of twining creepers: seek delight,  
 ' O thou, whose arms have been long inflexible.  
 ' Enter, O RA'DHA', the bower which resounds  
 ' with the murmur of honey-making bees: seek  
 ' delight, O thou, whose embrace yields more  
 ' exquisite softness. Enter, O RA'DHA', the  
 ' bower attuned by the melodious band of *Cóci-*  
 ' *las*: seek delight, O thou, whose lips, which  
 ' outshine the grains of the pomegranate, are  
 ' embellished, when thou speakest, by the bright-  
 ' ness of thy teeth. Long has he borne thee in  
 ' his mind: and now, in an agony of desire, he  
 ' pants to taste nectar from thy lip. Deign to  
 ' restore thy slave, who will bend before the  
 ' lotos of thy foot, and press it to his irradiated  
 ' bosom; a slave, who acknowledges himself  
 ' bought by thee for a single glance from thy  
 ' eye, and a toss of thy disdainful eye-brow.'

She ended; and RA'DHA' with timid joy,

darting her eyes on Go'VINDA, while she musically sounded the rings of her ankles and the bells of her zone, entered the mystic bower of her only beloved. *There she beheld her, MADHAVA, who delighted in her alone ; who so long had sighed for her embrace ; and whose countenance then gleamed with excessive rapture :* his heart was agitated by her sight, as the waves of the deep are affected by the lunar orb. His azure breast glittered with pearls of unblemished lustre, like the full bed of the cerulean *Yamunā*, interspersed with curls of white foam. From his grateful waist, flowed a pale yellow robe, which resembled the golden dust of the water-lily, scattered over its blue petals. His passion was inflamed by the glances of her eyes, which played like a pair of water-birds with azure plumage, that sport near a full-blown lotos on a pool in the season of dew. Bright ear-rings, like two suns, displayed in full expansion the flowers of his cheeks and lips, which glistened with the liquid radiance of smiles. His locks, interwoven with blossoms, were like a cloud variegated with moon-beams, and on his forehead shone a circle of odorous oil, extracted from the sandal of *Malaya*, like the moon just appearing on the dusky horizon ; while his whole body seemed in a flame from the blaze of unnumbered gems. Tears of transport gushed in a

stream from the full eyes of RA'DHA', and their watery glances beamed on her best beloved. Even shame, which before had taken its abode in their dark pupils, was itself ashamed and departed, when the fawn-eyed RA'DHA' gazed on the brightened face of CRISHNA, while she passed by the soft edge of his couch, and the bevy of his attendant nymphs, pretending to strike the gnats from their cheeks in order to conceal their smiles, warily retired from his bower.

GO'VINDA, seeing his beloved cheerful and serene, her lips sparkling with smiles, and her eye speaking desire, thus eagerly addressed her; while she carelessly reclined on the leafy bed strewn with soft blossoms.

' Set the lotos of thy foot on this azure bosom ; and let this couch be victorious over all,  
 ' who rebel against love. *Give short rapture,*  
 ' *sweet RA'DHA', to NA'R'A'YA'N, thy adorer.*  
 ' I do thee homage ; I press with my blooming  
 ' palms thy feet, weary with so long a walk.  
 ' O that I were the golden ring, that plays  
 ' round thy ankle ! Speak but one gentle word ;  
 ' bid nectar drop from the bright moon of thy  
 ' mouth. Since the pain of absence is removed,  
 ' let me thus remove the thin vest that enviously  
 ' hides thy charms. Blest should I be, if those  
 ' raised globes were fixed on my bosom, and

‘ the ardour of my passion allayed. O ! suffer  
 ‘ me to quaff the liquid bliss of those lips ; re-  
 ‘ store with their water of life thy slave, who  
 ‘ has long been lifeless, whom the fire of sepa-  
 ‘ ration has consumed. Long have these ears  
 ‘ been afflicted, in thy absence, by the notes of  
 ‘ the *Cócila* : relieve them with the sound of thy  
 ‘ tinkling waist-bells, which yield musick, al-  
 ‘ most equal to the melody of thy voice. Why  
 ‘ are those eyes half closed ? Are they ashamed  
 ‘ of seeing a youth, to whom thy careless re-  
 ‘ sentment gave anguish ? O ! let affliction  
 ‘ cease : and let ecstasy drown the remembrance  
 ‘ of sorrow.’

In the morning she rose disarrayed, and her eyes betrayed a night without slumber ; when the yellow-robed God, who gazed on her with transport, thus meditated on her charms in his heavenly mind : ‘ Though her locks be diffused  
 ‘ at random, though the lustre of her lips be  
 ‘ faded, though her garland and zone be fallen  
 ‘ from their enchanting stations, and though she  
 ‘ hide their places with her hands, looking to-  
 ‘ ward me with bashful silence, yet even thus  
 ‘ disarranged, she fills me with extatic delight.’ But RA'DHA, preparing to array herself, before the company of nymphs could see her confusion, spake thus with exultation to her obsequious lover.

' Place, O son of YADU, with fingers cooler  
 ' than sandal-wood, place a circlet of musk on  
 ' this breast, which resembles a vase of conse-  
 ' crated water, crowned with fresh leaves, and  
 ' fixed near a vernal bower, to propitiate the  
 ' God of Love. Place, my darling, the glossy  
 ' powder, which would make the blackest bee  
 ' envious, on this eye, whose glances are keener  
 ' than arrows darted by the husband of RETI.  
 ' Fix, O accomplished youth, the two gems,  
 ' which form part of love's chain, in these ears,  
 ' whence the antelopes of thine eyes may run  
 ' downwards and sport at pleasure. Place now  
 ' a fresh circle of musk, black as the lunar spots,  
 ' on the moon of my forehead; and mix gay  
 ' flowers on my tresses with a peacock's feathers,  
 ' in graceful order, that they may wave like the  
 ' banners of CAMA. Now replace, O tender  
 ' hearted, the loose ornaments of my vesture;  
 ' and refix the golden bells of my girdle on  
 ' their destined station, which resembles those  
 ' hills, where the God with five shafts, who de-  
 ' stroyed SAMBAR, keeps his elephant ready  
 ' for battle.'

While she spake, the heart of YADAVA triumphed; and, obeying her sportful behests, he placed musky spots on her bosom and forehead, dyed her temples with radiant hues, embellished her eyes with additional blackness, decked her

braided hair and her neck with fresh garlands; and tied on her wrists the loosened bracelets, on her ankles the beamy rings, and round her waist the zone of bells, that sounded with ravishing melody.

Whatever is delightful in the modes of mu-fick, whatever is divine in meditations on VISHNU, whatever is exquisite in the sweet art of love, whatever is graceful in the fine strains of poetry, all that let the happy and wise learn from the songs of JAYADE'VA, whose soul is united with the foot of NA'RĀ'YAN. May that HERI be your support, who expanded himself into an infinity of bright forms, when, eager to gaze with myriads of eyes on the daughter of the ocean, he displayed his great character of the all-pervading deity, by the multiplied reflections of his divine person in the numberless gems on the many heads of the king of serpents, whom he chose for his couch; that HERI, who removing the lucid veil from the bosom of PED-MA', and fixing his eyes on the delicious buds, that grew on it, diverted her attention by declaring that, when she had chosen him as her bridegroom near the sea of milk, the disappointed husband of PERVATI drank in despair the venom, which dyed his neck azure!

REMARKS  
ON  
THE ISLAND OF  
*HINZUAN OR JOHANNA.*  
BY  
THE PRESIDENT.

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HINZUÀN (a name, which has been gradually corrupted into *Anzuame*, *Anjuan*, *Juanny*, and *Jobanna*) has been governed about two centuries by a colony of *Arabs*, and exhibits a curious instance of the slow approaches toward civilization, which are made by a small community, with many natural advantages, but with few means of improving them. An account of this *African* island, in which we hear the language and see the manners of *Arabia*, may neither be uninteresting in itself, nor foreign to the objects of inquiry proposed at the institution of our Society.

On Monday, the 28th of July, 1783, after a voyage, in the *Crocodile*, of ten weeks and two days from the rugged islands of *Cape Verd*, our eyes were delighted with a prospect so beautiful,

that neither a painter nor a poet could perfectly represent it, and so cheering to us, that it can justly be conceived by such only, as have been in our preceding situation. It was the sun rising in full splendour on the isle of *Mayáta* (as the seamen called it) which we had joyfully distinguished the preceding afternoon by the height of its peak, and which now appeared at no great distance from the windows of our cabin ; while *Hinxúàn*, for which we had so long panted, was plainly discernible a-head, where its high lands presented themselves with remarkable boldness. The weather was fair ; the water, smooth ; and a gentle breeze drove us easily before dinner-time round a rock, on which the *Brilliant* struck just a year before, into a commodious road\*, where we dropped our anchor early in the evening : we had seen *Mohila*, another sister island, in the course of the day.

The frigate was presently surrounded with canoes, and the deck soon crowded with natives of all ranks, from the high-born chief, who washed linen, to the half-naked slave, who only paddled. Most of them had letters of recommendation from *Englishmen*, which none of them were able to read, though they spoke *English* intelligibly ; and some appeared vain of

\* Lat. 12°. 10'. 47". S. Long. 44°. 25'. 5". E. by the Master.

titles, which our countrymen had given them in play, according to their supposed stations : we had *Lords*, *Dukes*, and *Princes* on board, soliciting our custom and importuning us for presents. In fact they were too sensible to be proud of empty sounds, but justly imagined, that those ridiculous titles would serve as marks of distinction, and, by attracting notice, procure for them something substantial. The only men of real consequence in the island, whom we saw before we landed, were the Governor AB-DULLAH, second cousin to the king, and his brother ALWI', with their several sons ; all of whom will again be particularly mentioned : they understood *Arabick*, seemed zealots in the *Mohammedan* faith, and admired my copies of the *Alkoran* ; some verses of which they read, whilst ALWI' perused the opening of another *Arabian* manuscript, and explained it in *English* more accurately than could have been expected.

The next morning showed us the island in all its beauty ; and the scene was so diversified, that a distinct view of it could hardly have been exhibited by the best pencil : you must, therefore, be satisfied with a mere description, written on the very spot and compared attentively with the natural landscape. We were at anchor in a fine bay, and before us was a vast amphitheatre, of which you may form a general notion

by picturing in your minds a multitude of hills infinitely varied in size and figure, and then supposing them to be thrown together, with a kind of artless symmetry, in all imaginable positions. The back ground was a series of mountains, one of which is pointed near half a mile perpendicularly high from the level of the sea, and little more than three miles from the shore : all of them were richly clothed with wood, chiefly fruit-trees, of an exquisite verdure. I had seen many a mountain of a stupendous height in *Wales* and *Switzerland*, but never saw one before, round the bosom of which the clouds were almost continually rolling, while its green summit rose flourishing above them, and received from them an additional brightness. Next to this distant range of hills was another tier, part of which appeared charmingly verdant, and part rather barren ; but the contrast of colours changed even this nakedness into a beauty : nearer still were innumerable mountains, or rather cliffs, which brought down their verdure and fertility quite to the beach ; so that every shade of green, the sweetest of colours, was displayed at one view by land and by water. But nothing conduced more to the variety of this enchanting prospect, than the many rows of palm-trees, especially the tall and graceful *Areca's*, on the shores, in the valleys, and on

the ridges of hills, where one might almost suppose them to have been planted regularly by design. A more beautiful appearance can scarce be conceived, than such a number of elegant palms in such a situation, with luxuriant tops, like verdant plumes, placed at just intervals, and showing between them part of the remoter landscape, while they left the rest to be supplied by the beholder's imagination. The town of *Matsamúdò* lay on our left, remarkable at a distance for the tower of the principal mosque, which was built by *HALI' MAH*, a queen of the island, from whom the present king is descended: a little on our right was a small town, called *Bantáni*. Neither the territory of *Nice*, with its olives, date-trees, and cypresses, nor the isles of *Hieres*, with their delightful orange-groves, appeared so charming to me, as the view from the road of *Hinzúan*; which, nevertheless, is far surpassed, as the Captain of the *Crocodile* assured us, by many of the islands in the southern ocean. If life were not too short for the complete discharge of all our respective duties, public and private, and for the acquisition even of necessary knowledge in any degree of perfection, with how much pleasure and improvement might a great part of it be spent in admiring the beauties of this wonderful orb, and contemplating the nature of man in all its varieties!

We hastened to tread on firm land, to which we had been so long disused, and went on shore, after breakfast, to see the town, and return the Governor's visit. As we walked, attended by a crowd of natives, I surprized them by reading aloud an *Arabick* inscription over the gate of a mosque, and still more, when I entered it, by explaining four sentences, which were written very distinctly on the wall, signifying, "that the " world was given us for our own edification, " not for the purpose of raising sumptuous build- " ings; life, for the discharge of moral and re- " ligious duties, not for pleasurable indulgences; " wealth, to be liberally bestowed, not avari- " ciously hoarded; and learning, to produce " good actions, not empty disputes." We could not but respect the temple even of a false prophet, in which we found such excellent morality: we saw nothing better among the *Romish* trumpery in the church at *Madera*. When we came to *ABDULLAH*'s house, we were conducted through a small court-yard into an open room, on each side of which was a large and convenient sofa, and above it a high bed-place in a dark recess, over which a chintz counter-point hung down from the ceiling: this is the general form of the best rooms in the island; and most of the tolerable houses have a similar apartment on the opposite side of the court, that

there may be at all hours a place in the shade for dinner or for repose. We were entertained with ripe dates from *Yemen*, and the milk of cocoa-nuts ; but the heat of the room, which seemed accessible to all, who chose to enter it, and the scent of musk or civet, with which it was perfumed, soon made us desirous of breathing a purer air ; nor could I be detained long by the *Arabick* munuscripts, which the Governor produced, but which appeared of little use, and consequently of no value, except to such as love mere curiosities : one of them, indeed, relating to the penal law of the *Mohammedans*, I would gladly have purchased at a just price ; but he knew not what to ask, and I knew, that better books on that subject might be procured in *Bengal*. He then offered me a black boy for one of my *Alkorans*, and pressed me to barter an *Indian* dress, which he had seen on board the ship, for a cow and calf : the golden slippers attracted him most, since his wife, he said, would like to wear them ; and, for that reason, I made him a present of them ; but had destined the book and the robe for his superior. No higher opinion could be formed of *Sayyad ABDULLAH*, who seemed very eager for gain, and very servile where he expected it.

Our next visit was to *Shaikh SA'LIM*, the king's eldest son ; and, if we had seen him first,

the state of civilization in *Hinzuàn* would have appeared at its lowest ebb: the worst *English* hackney in the worst stable is better lodged, and looks more princely than this heir apparent; but, though his mean and apparel were extremely savage, yet allowance should have been made for his illness; which, as we afterwards learned, was an abscess in the spleen, a disorder not uncommon in that country, and frequently cured, agreeably to the *Arabian* practice, by the actual cautery. He was incessantly chewing pieces of the *Areca-nut* with shell-lime; a custom borrowed, I suppose, from the *Indians*, who greatly improve the composition with spices and betel-leaves, to which they formerly added camphor: all the natives of rank chewed it, but not, I think, to so great an excess. Prince SA-LIM from time to time gazed at himself with complacency in a piece of broken looking-glass, which was glued on a small board; a specimen of wretchedness, which we observed in no other house; but many circumstances convinced us, that the apparently low condition of his royal highness, who was not on bad terms with his father, and seemed not to want authority, proceeded wholly from avarice. His brother HAM-DULLAH, who generally resides in the town of *Domoni*, has a very different character, being esteemed a man of worth, good sense, and learn-

ing: he had come, the day before, to *Matsamudo*, on hearing that an *English* frigate was in the road; and I, having gone out for a few minutes to read an *Arabick* inscription, found him, on my return, devouring a manuscript, which I had left with some of the company. He is a *Kádi*, or *Mohammedan* judge; and, as he seemed to have more knowledge than his countrymen, I was extremely concerned, that I had so little conversation with him. The king, *Shaukò AHMED*, has a younger son, named *ABDULLAH*, whose usual residence is in the town of *Waini*, which he seldom leaves, as the state of his health is very infirm. Since the succession to the title and authority of *Sultàn* is not unalterably fixed in one line, but requires confirmation by the chiefs of the island, it is not improbable that they may hereafter be conferred on prince *HAMDULLAH*.

A little beyond the hole, in which *SA'LIM* received us, was his *b'aram*, or the apartment of his women, which he permitted us all to see, not through politeness to strangers, as we believed at first, but, as I learned afterwards from his own lips, in expectation of a present; we saw only two or three miserable creatures with their heads covered, while the favourite, as we supposed, stood behind a coarse curtain, and showed her ankles under it loaded with silver

rings ; which, if she was capable of reflection, she must have considered as glittering fetters rather than ornaments ; but a rational being would have preferred the condition of a wild beast, expos'd to perils and hunger in a forest, to the splendid misery of being wife or mistress to SA'LIM.

Before we returned, ALWI' was desirous of showing me his books ; but the day was too far advanced, and I promised to visit him some other morning. The governor, however, prevailed on us to see his place in the country, where he invited us to dine the next day : the walk was extremely pleasant from the town to the side of a rivulet, which formed in one part a small pool very convenient for bathing, and thence, through groves and alleys, to the foot of a hill ; but the dining-room was little better than an open barn, and was recommended only by the coolness of its shade. ABDULLAH would accompany us on our return to the ship, together with two *Muftis*, who spoke *Arabick* indifferently, and seemed eager to see all my manuscripts ; but they were very moderately learned, and gazed with stupid wonder on a fine copy of the *Hamásah* and on other collections of ancient poetry.

Early the next morning a black messenger, with a tawny lad as his interpreter, came from

prince SA'LIM; who, having broken his perspective-glaſs, wished to procure another by purchase or barter: a polite anſwer was returned, and ſteps taken to gratify his wiſhes. As we on our part expreſſed a deſire to viſit the king at *Domoni*, the prince's meſſenger told us, that his maſter would, no doubt, lend us paſanquins (for there was not a horſe in the iſland) and order a ſufficient number of his vaffals to carry us, whom we miſt pay for their trouble, as we thought juſt: we commiſſioned him, therefore, to aſk that favour, and begged, that all miſt be ready for our excursion before fun-riſe; that we miſt escape the heat of the noon, which, though it was the middle of wiſter, we had found exceſſive. The boy, whose name was COMBO MADI, stayed with us longer than his companion: there was ſomething in his look ſo ingenuous, and in his broken *Engliſh* ſo ſimple, that we encouraged him to con-tinue his innocent prattle. He wrote and read *Arabick* tolerably well, and ſet down at my de-fiſe the names of ſeveral towns in the iſland, which, He firſt told me, was properly called *Hinzuān*. The fault of beggiſg for whatever he liked, he had in common with the governor and other nobles; but hardly in a greater de-gree: his firſt petition for ſome lavender-water was readily granted; and a ſmall bottle of it

was so acceptable to him, that, if we had suffered him, he would have kissed our feet ; but it was not for himself that he rejoiced so extravagantly : he told us with tears starting from his eyes, that his mother would be pleased with it, and the idea of her pleasure seemed to fill him with rapture : 'never did I see filial affection more warmly felt or more tenderly and, in my opinion, unaffectedly expressed ; yet this boy was not a favourite of the officers, who thought him artful. His mother's name, he said, was FA'TIMA ; and he importuned us to visit her ; conceiving, I suppose, that all mankind must love and admire her : we promised to gratify him ; and, having made him several presents, permitted him to return. As he reminded me of ALADDIN in the *Arabian* tale, I designed to give him that name in a recommedatory letter, which he pressed me to write, instead of St. DOMINGO, as some *European* visitor had ridiculously called him ; but, since the allusion would not have been generally known, and since the title of *Aláu'l'dín*, or *Eminence in Faith*, might have offended his superiors, I thought it advisable for him to keep his *African* name. A very indifferent dinner was prepared for us at the house of the Governor, whom we did not see the whole day, as it was the beginning of *Ramadán*, the *Mohammedan* lent, and

he was engaged in his devotions, or made them his excuse ; but his eldest son sat by us, while we dined, together with Mu'sA, who was employed, jointly with his brother HUSSAIN, as purveyor to the Captain of the frigate.

Having observed a very elegant shrub, that grew about six feet high in the court-yard, but was not then in flower, I learned with pleasure, that it was *binnà*, of which I had read so much in *Arabian* poems, and which *European* Botanists have ridiculously named *Lawsonia* : Mu'sA bruised some of the leaves and, having moistened them with water, applied them to our nails, and the tips of our fingers, which in a short time became of a dark orange-scarlet. I had before conceived a different idea of this dye, and imagined, that it was used by the *Arabs* to imitate the natural redness of those parts in young and healthy persons, which in all countries must be considered as a beauty : perhaps a less quantity of *binnà*, or the same differently prepared, might have produced that effect. The old men in *Arabia* used the same dye to conceal their grey hair, while their daughters were dying their lips and gums black, to set off the whiteness of their teeth : so universal in all nations and ages are personal vanity, and a love of disquising truth ; though in all cases, the farther our species recede from nature,

the farther they depart from true beauty: and men at least should disdain to use artifice or deceit for any purpose or on any occasion: if the women of rank at *Paris*, or those in *London* who wish to imitate them, be inclined to call the *Arabs* barbarians; let them view their own head-dresses and cheeks in a glass, and, if they have left no room for blushes, be inwardly at least ashamed of their censure.

In the afternoon I walked a long way up the mountains in a winding path amid plants and trees no less new than beautiful, and regretted exceedingly, that very few of them were in blossom; as I should then have had leisure to examine them. Curiosity led me from hill to hill; and I came at last to the sources of a rivulet, which we had passed near the shore, and from which the ship was to be supplied with excellent water. I saw no birds on the mountains but *Guinea-fowl*, which might have been easily caught; no insects were troublesome to me, but mosquitos; and I had no fear of venomous reptiles, having been assured, that the air was too pure for any to exist in it; but I was often unwillingly a cause of fear to the gentle and harmless lizard, who ran among the shrubs. On my return I missed the path, by which I had ascended; but, having met some blacks laden with yams and plantains, I was

by them directed to another, which led me round, through a charming grove of cocoa-trees, to the Governor's country-seat, where our entertainment was closed by a fillabub, which the *English* had taught the *Muselmans* to make for them.

We received no answer from SA'LIM; nor, indeed, expected one; since we took for granted, that he could not but approve our intention of visiting his father; and we went on shore before sunrise, in full expectation of a pleasant excursion to *Domóni*: but we were happily disappointed. The servants, at the prince's door, told us coolly, that their master was indisposed, and, as they believed, asleep; that he had given them no orders concerning his palanquins, and that they durst not disturb him. ALWI soon came to pay us his compliments; and was followed by his eldest son, AHMED, with whom we walked to the gardens of the two princes SA'LIM and HAMDULLAH; the situation was naturally good, but wild and desolate; and, in SA'LIM's garden, which we entered through a miserable hovel, we saw a convenient bathing-place, well-built with stone, but then in great disorder, and a shed, by way of summer-house, like that under which we dined at the governor's, but smaller and less neat. On the ground lay a kind of cradle about

six feet long, and little more than one foot in breadth, made of cords twisted in a sort of clumsy network, with a long thick bambu fixed to each side of it: this, we heard with surprise, was a royal palanquin, and one of the vehicles, in which we were to have been rocked on men's shoulders over the mountains. I had much conversation with AHMED, whom I found intelligent and communicative: he told me, that several of his countrymen composed songs and tunes; that he was himself a passionate lover of poetry and musick; and that, if we would dine at his house, he would play and sing to us. We declined his invitation to dinner; as we had made a conditional promise, if ever we passed a day at *Matsumido*, to eat our curry with *Banà Gibu*, an honest man, of whom we purchased eggs and vegetables, and to whom some *Englishman* had given the title of *lord*, which made him extremely vain: we could, therefore, make *Sayyad AHMED* only a morning visit. He sung a hymn or two in *Arabick*, and accompanied his drawling, though pathetick, psalmody with a kind of mandoline, which he touched with an awkward quill: the instrument was very imperfect, but seemed to give him delight. The names of the strings were written on it in *Arabian* or *Indian* figures, simple and compounded; but I could not think

them worth copying. He gave Captain WILLIAMSON, who wished to present some literary curiosities to the library at *Dublin*, a small roll containing a hymn in *Arabick* letters, but in the language of *Mombaza*, which was mixed with *Arabick*; but it hardly deserved examination, since the study of languages has little intrinsick value, and is only useful as the instrument of real knowledge, which we can scarce expect from the poets of the *Mozambique*. AHMED would, I believe, have heard our *European* airs (I always except *French* melody) with rapture, for his favourite tune was a common *Irish* jig, with which he seemed wonderfully affected.

On our return to the beach I thought of visiting old ALWI', according to my promise, and prince SA'LIM, whose character I had not then discovered: I resolved for that purpose to stay on shore alone, our dinner with GIBU having been fixed at an early hour. ALWI' showed me his manuscripts, which chiefly related to the ceremonies and ordinances of his own religion; and one of them, which I had formerly seen in *Europe*, was a collection of sublime and elegant hymns in praise of MOHAMMED, with explanatory notes in the margin; I requested him to read one of them after the manner of the *Arabs*, and he chanted it in a strain by no means unpleas-

ing ; but I am persuaded, that he understood it very imperfectly. The room, which was open to the street, was presently crowded with visitors, most of whom were *Mufti's*, or *Expounders of the Law* ; and ALWI', desirous, perhaps, to display his zeal before them at the expense of good breeding, directed my attention to a passage in a commentary on the *Korân*, which I found levelled at the *Christians*. The commentator, having related with some additions (but, on the whole, not inaccurately) the circumstances of the temptation, puts this speech into the mouth of the tempter : " though I am unable to delude thee, yet I will mislead, by thy means, more human creatures, than thou wilt set right."

' Nor was this menace vain (says the *Mohammedan* writer), for the inhabitants of a region many thousand leagues in extent are still so deluded by the devil, that they impiously call ' I S A the son of GOD : heaven preserve us, he adds, from blaspheming *Christians* as well as ' blaspheming *Jews*.' Although a religious dispute with those obstinate zealots would have been unseasonable and fruitless, yet they deserved, I thought, a slight reprobation, as the attack seemed to be concerted among them. ' The commentator, said I, was much to blame for passing so indiscriminate and hasty a censure : the title, which gave your legislator, and gives

\* you, such offence, was often applied in *Judea*,  
\* by a bold figure agreeable to the *Hebrew*  
\* idiom, though unusual in *Arabick*, to *angels*,  
\* to *holy men*, and even to *all mankind*, who are  
\* commanded to call GOD their *Father*; and in  
\* this large sense, the Apostle to the *Romans* calls  
\* the elect the *children* of GOD, and the MES-  
\* SIAH the *first-born among many brethren*; but  
\* the words *only begotten* are applied transcen-  
\* dently and incomparably to him alone\*; and,  
\* as for me, who believe the scriptures, which  
\* you also profess to believe, though you assert  
\* without proof that we have altered them, I  
\* cannot refuse him an appellation, though far  
\* surpassing our reason, by which he is distin-  
\* guished in the Gospel; and the believers in  
\* MUHAMMED, who expressly names him *the*  
\* *Messiah*, and pronounces him to have been  
\* born of a virgin, which alone might fully jus-  
\* tify the phrase condemned by this author, are  
\* themselves condemnable for cavilling at words,  
\* when they cannot object to the substance of  
\* our faith consistently with their own.' The  
*Muselmans* had nothing to say in reply; and  
the conversation was changed.

I was astonished at the questions which ALWI  
put to me concerning the late peace and the inde-

\* Rom. 8. 29. See 1 John 3. 1. II. Barrow, 231, 232,  
251.

pendence of *America*; the several powers and resources of *Britain* and *France*, *Spain* and *Holland*; the character and supposed views of the Emperor; the comparative strength of the *Russian*, Imperial, and *Othman* armies, and their respective modes of bringing their forces to action: I answered him without reserve, except on the state of our possessions in *India*; nor were my answers lost; for I observed, that all the company were variously affected by them; generally with amazement, often with concern; especially when I described to them the great force and admirable discipline of the *Austrian* army, and the stupid prejudices of the *Turks*, whom nothing can induce to abandon their old *Tartarian* habits, and exposed the weakness of their empire in *Africa*, and even in the more distant provinces of *Asia*. In return he gave me clear, but general, information concerning the government and commerce of his island: "his country, he said, was poor, and produced few articles of trade; but, if they could get money, which they now preferred to playthings "(those were his words), they might easily, he added, procure foreign commodities, and exchange them advantageously with their neighbours in the islands and on the continent: thus with a little money, said he, we purchase muskets, powder, balls, cutlasses, knives,

“ cloths, raw cotton, and other articles brought  
“ from *Bombay*, and with those we trade to  
“ *Madagascar* for the natural produce of the  
“ country or for *dollars*, with which the *French*  
“ buy cattle, honey, butter, and so forth, in that  
“ island. With *gold*, which we receive from  
“ your ships, we can procure elephants’ teeth  
“ from the natives of *Mozambique*, who barter  
“ them also for ammunition and bars of iron,  
“ and the *Portuguese* in that country give us  
“ cloths of various kinds in exchange for our  
“ commodities: those cloths we dispose of lu-  
“ cratively in the three neighbouring islands;  
“ whence we bring rice, cattle, a kind of  
“ bread-fruit, which grows in *Comara*, and  
“ *slaves*, which we buy also at other places, to  
“ which we trade; and we carry on this traf-  
“ fick in our own vessels.”

Here I could not help expressing my abhorrence of their *slave-trade*, and asked him by what law they claimed a property in rational beings; since our Creator had given our species a dominion, to be moderately exercised, over the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air, but none *to man over man*. “ By no law,” answered he, unless necessity be a law. There are nations in *Madagascar* and in *Africa*, who know neither *GOD*, nor his Prophet, nor *MOSES*, nor *DAVID*, nor the *MESSIAH*:

“ those nations are in perpetual war, and take  
“ many captives ; whom, if they could not sell,  
“ they would certainly kill. Individuals among  
“ them are in extreme poverty, and have num-  
“ bers of children ; who, if they cannot be dis-  
“ posed of, must perish through hunger, toge-  
“ ther with their miserable parents : by pur-  
“ chasing these wretches, we preserve their lives,  
“ and, perhaps, those of many others, whom  
“ our money relieves. The sum of the argu-  
“ ment is this : if we buy them, they will live :  
“ if they become valuable servants, they will  
“ live comfortably ; but, if they are not sold,  
“ they must die miserably.” ‘ There may  
‘ be, said I, such cases ; but you fallaciously  
‘ draw a general conclusion from a few parti-  
‘ cular instances ; and this is the very fallacy,  
‘ which, on a thousand other occasions, deludes  
‘ mankind. It is not to be doubted, that a con-  
‘ stant and gainful traffick in human creatures  
‘ foments war, in which captives are always  
‘ made, and keeps up that perpetual enmity,  
‘ which you pretend to be the *cause* of a  
‘ practice in itself reprehensible, while in truth  
‘ it is its *effect* ; the same traffick encourages la-  
‘ ziness in some parents, who might in general  
‘ support their families by proper industry, and  
‘ seduces others to stifle their natural feelings :  
‘ at most your redemption of those unhappy

‘ children can amount only to a personal con-  
 ‘ tract, implied between you, for gratitude and  
 ‘ reasonable service on their part, for kindness  
 ‘ and humanity on yours ; but can you think  
 ‘ your part performed by disposing of them  
 ‘ against their wills with as much indifference,  
 ‘ as if you were selling cattle ; especially as they  
 ‘ might become readers of the *Korán*, and pil-  
 ‘ lars of your faith ? ’ “ The law, said he, for-  
 “ bids our selling them, when they are believers  
 “ in the Prophet ; and little children only are  
 “ sold ; nor they often, or by all masters.”  
 ‘ You, who believe in MUHAMMED, said I, are  
 ‘ bound by the spirit and letter of his laws to  
 ‘ take pains, that they also may believe in him ;  
 ‘ and, if you neglect so important a duty for  
 ‘ sordid gain, I do not see how you can hope  
 ‘ for prosperity in this world, or for happiness  
 ‘ in the next.’ My old friend and the *Mufti*’s  
 assented, and muttered a few prayers ; but prob-  
 ably forgot my preaching, before many mi-  
 nutes had passed.

So much time had slipped away in this con-  
 versation, that I could make but a short visit to  
 prince SA’LIM ; and my view in visiting him  
 was to fix the time of our journey to *Domóni* as  
 early as possible on the next morning. His ap-  
 pearance was more savage than ever ; and I  
 found him in a disposition to complain bitterly

of the *English*: “ No acknowledgement, he said, had been made for the kind attentions of himself and the chief men in his country to the officers and people of the *Brilliant*, though a whole year had elapsed since the wreck.” I really wondered at the forgetfulness, to which alone such a neglect could be imputed ; and assured him, that I would express my opinion both in *Bengal* and in letters to *England*. “ We have little, said he, to hope from letters ; for, when we have been paid with them, instead of money, and have shown them on board your ships, we have commonly been treated with disdain, and often with imprecations.” I assured him, that either those letters must have been written coldly and by very obscure persons, or shown to very ill-bred men, of whom there were too many in all nations ; but that a few instances of rudeness ought not to give him a general prejudice against our national character. “ But you, said he, are a wealthy nation ; and we are indigent : yet, though all our groves of cocoa-trees, our fruits, and our cattle, are ever at your service, you always try to make hard bargains with us for what you chuse to dispose of, and frequently will neither sell nor give those things, which we principally want.” “ To form, said I, a just opinion of *Englishmen*, you must visit us in our

“ own island, or at least in *India*; here we are  
“ strangers and travellers: many of us have no  
“ design to trade in any country, and none of  
“ us think of trading in *Hinzuān*, where we stop  
“ only for refreshment. The clothes, arms, or  
“ instruments, which you may want, are com-  
“ monly necessary or convenient to us; but, if  
“ *Sayyad Alwi* or his sons were to be strangers  
“ in our country, you would have no reason to  
“ boast of superior hospitality.” He then shewed  
me, a second time, a part of an old silk vest  
with the star of the order of the Thistle, and  
begged me to explain the motto: expressing a  
wish, that the order might be conferred on him  
by the King of *England* in return for his good  
offices to the *English*. I represented to him the  
impossibility of his being gratified, and took oc-  
casion to say, that there was more true dignity  
in their own native titles, than in those of *prince*,  
*duke*, and *lord*, which had been idly given them,  
but had no conformity to their manners or the  
constitution of their government.

This conversation being agreeable to neither  
of us, I changed it by desiring, that the palan-  
quins and bearers might be ready next morn-  
ing as early as possible: he answered, that his  
palanquins were at our service for nothing, but  
that we must pay him ten dollars for each set of  
bearers; that it was the stated price; and that

Mr. HASTINGS had paid it, when he went to visit the king. This, as I learned afterwards, was false ; but, in all events, I knew, that he would keep the dollars himself, and give nothing to the bearers, who deserved them better, and whom he would compel to leave their cottages, and toil for his profit. “ Can you imagine, I replied, that we would employ four and twenty men to bear us so far on their shoulders without rewarding them amply ? But since they are free men (so he had assured me) and not your slaves, we will pay them in proportion to their diligence and good behaviour ; and it becomes neither your dignity nor ours to make a previous bargain.” I showed him an elegant copy of the *Koràn*, which I destined for his father, and described the rest of my present ; but he coldly asked, “ if that was all : ” had he been king, a purse of dry dollars would have given him more pleasure than the finest or holiest manuscript. Finding him, in conversing on a variety of subjects, utterly void of intelligence or principle, I took my leave, and saw him no more ; but promised to let him know for certain whether we should make our intended excursion.

We dined in tolerable comfort, and had occasion, in the course of the day, to observe the manners of the natives in the middle rank, who

are called *Báñas*, and all of whom have slaves constantly at work for them: we visited the mother of COMBOMA'DI, who seemed in a station but little raised above indigence; and her husband, who was a mariner, bartered an *Arabick* treatise on astronomy and navigation, which he had read, for a sea compass, of which he well knew the use.

In the morning I had conversed with two very old *Arabs* of *Yemen*, who had brought some articles of trade to *Hinzuán*; and in the afternoon I met another, who had come from *Mafkat* (where at that time there was a civil war) to purchase, if he could, an hundred stand of arms. I told them all that I loved their nation, and they returned my compliments with great warmth; especially the two old men, who were near fourscore, and reminded me of *ZOHAIR* and *HA'RETH*.

So bad an account had been given me of the road over the mountains, that I dissuaded my companions from thinking of the journey, to which the Captain became rather disinclined; but, as I wished to be fully acquainted with a country, which I might never see again, I wrote the next day to *SA'LIM*, requesting him to lend me one palanquin, and to order a sufficient number of men: he sent me no written answer; which I ascribe rather to his incapacity than to

rudeness; but the Governor, with ALWI' and two of his sons, came on board in the evening, and said, that they had seen my letter; that all should be ready; but that I could not pay less for the men than ten dollars. I said I would pay more, but it should be to the men themselves, according to their behaviour. They returned somewhat dissatisfied, after I had played at chess with ALWI' s younger son, in whose manner and address there was something remarkably pleasing.

Before sunrise on the 2d of *August* I went alone on shore; with a small basket of such provisions, as I might want in the course of the day, and with some cushions to make the prince's palanquin at least a tolerable vehicle; but the prince was resolv'd to receive the dollars, to which his men were entitled; and he knew, that, as I was eager for the journey, he could prescribe his own terms. Old ALWI' met me on the beach, and brought excuses from SA'LIM; who, he said, was indispos'd. He conducted me to his house; and seemed rather desirous of persuading me to abandon my design of visiting the king; but I assured him, that, if the prince would not supply me with proper attendants, I would walk to *Domoni* with my own servants and a guide. ' *Shaikh SA'LIM*, he said, ' was miserably avaricious; that he was ashamed

‘ of a kinsman with such a disposition ; but that  
‘ he was no less obstinate than covetous ; and  
‘ that, without ten dollars paid in hand, it  
‘ would be impossible to procure bearers.’ I  
then gave him three guineas, which he carried,  
or pretended to carry, to SA’LIM, but returned  
without the change, alledging that he had no  
silver, and promising to give me on my return  
the few dollars that remained. In about an  
hour the ridiculous vehicle was brought by nine  
sturdy blacks, who could not speak a word of  
*Arabick*; so that I expected no information  
concerning the country, through which I was  
to travel ; but ALWI assisted me in a point of  
the utmost consequence. ‘ You cannot go, said  
‘ he, without an interpreter ; for the king speaks  
‘ only the language of this island ; but I have a  
‘ servant, whose name is TUMU’NI, a sensible  
‘ and worthy man, who understands *English*, and  
‘ is much esteemed by the king : he is known  
‘ and valued all over *Hinzuàn*. This man shall  
‘ attend you ; and you will soon be sensible of  
‘ his worth.’

TUMU’NI desired to carry my basket, and we  
set out with a prospect of fine weather, but  
some hours later than I had intended. I walked,  
by the gardens of the two princes, to the skirts  
of the town, and came to a little village consist-  
ing of several very neat huts made chiefly with

the leaves of the cocoa-tree ; but the road a little farther was so stony, that I sat in the palanquin, and was borne with perfect safety over some rocks : I then desired my guide to assure the men, that I would pay them liberally ; but the poor peasants, who had been brought from their farms on the hills, were not perfectly acquainted with the use of money, and treated my promise with indifference.

About five miles from *Matsamúdo* lies the town of *Wán*, where *Shaikh ABDULLAH*, who has already been mentioned, usually resides : I saw it at a distance, and it seemed to be agreeably situated. When I had passed the rocky part of the road, I came to a stony beach, where the sea appeared to have lost some ground, since there was a fine sand to the left, and beyond it a beautiful bay, which resembled that of *Weymouth*, and seemed equally convenient for bathing ; but it did not appear to me, that the stones, over which I was carried, had been recently covered with water. Here I saw the frigate, and, taking leave of it for two days, turned from the coast into a fine country very neatly cultivated, and consisting partly of hillocks exquisitely green, partly of plains, which were then in a gaudy dress of rich yellow blossoms : my guide informed me, that they were plantations of a kind of vetch, which was eaten

by the natives. Cottages and farms were interspersed all over this gay champaign, and the whole scene was delightful; but it was soon changed for beauties of a different sort. We descended into a cool valley, through which ran a rivulet of perfectly clear water; and there, finding my vehicle uneasy, though from the laughter and merriment of my bearers I concluded them to be quite at their ease, I bade them set me down, and walked before them all the rest of the way. Mountains, clothed with fine trees and flowering shrubs, presented themselves on our ascent from the vale; and we proceeded for half an hour through pleasant wood-walks, where I regretted the impossibility of loitering a while to examine the variety of new blossoms, which succeeded one another at every step, and the virtues, as well as names, of which seemed familiar to TUMU'NI. At length we descended into a valley of greater extent than the former: a river or large wintry torrent ran through it, and fell down a steep declivity at the end of it, where it seemed to be lost among rocks. Cattle were grazing on the banks of the river, and the huts of their owners appeared on the hills: a more agreeable spot I had not before seen even in *Switzerland* or *Merionethshire*; but it was followed by an assemblage of natural beauties, which I hardly expected to find in a

little island twelve degrees to the south of the Line. I was not sufficiently pleased with my solitary journey to discover charms, which had no actual existence, and the first effect of the contrast between St. Jago and *Hinzuàn* had ceased; but, without any disposition to give the landscape a high colouring, I may truly say, what I thought at the time, that the whole country, which next presented itself, as far surpassed *Emeronville* or *Blenheim*, or any other imitations of nature, which I had seen in *France* or *England*, as the finest bay surpasses an artificial piece of water. Two very high mountains, covered to the summit with the richest verdure, were at some distance on my right hand, and separated from me by meadows diversified with cottages and herds, or by valleys resounding with torrents and water-falls; on my left was the sea, to which there were beautiful openings from the hills and woods; and the road was a smooth path, naturally winding through a forest of spicy shrubs, fruit-trees, and palms. Some high trees were spangled with white blossoms equal in fragrance to orange-flowers: my guide called them *Monongo's*, but the day was declining so fast, that it was impossible to examine them: the variety of fruits, flowers, and birds, of which I had a transient view in this magnificent garden, would have supplied a naturalist

with amusement for a month; but I saw no remarkable insect, and no reptile of any kind. The woodland was diversified by a few pleasant glades, and new prospects were continually opened: at length a noble view of the sea burst upon me unexpectedly; and, having passed a hill or two, we came to the beach, beyond which were several hills and cottages. We turned from the shore; and, on the next eminence, I saw the town of *Domóni* at a little distance below us: I was met by a number of natives, a few of whom spoke *Arabick*, and thinking it a convenient place for repose, I sent my guide to apprise the king of my intended visit. He returned in half an hour with a polite message; and I walked into the town, which seemed large and populous. A great crowd accompanied me, and I was conducted to a house built on the same plan with the best houses at *Matsamido*: in the middle of the court-yard stood a large *Monongo*-tree, which perfumed the air; the apartment on the left was empty; and, in that on the right, sat the king on a sofa or bench covered with an ordinary carpet. He rose, when I entered, and, grasping my hands, placed me near him on the right; but, as he could speak only the language of *Hinzuan*, I had recourse to my friend *Tumu'ni*, than whom a readier or more accurate interpreter could not

have been found. I presented the king with a very handsome *Indian* dress of blue silk with golden flowers, which had been worn only once at a masquerade, and with a beautiful copy of the *Koràn*, from which I read a few verses to him: he took them with great complacency, and said, “ he wished I had come by sea, that “ he might have loaded one of my boats with “ fruit and with some of his finest cattle. He “ had seen me, he said, on board the frigate, “ where he had been, according to his custom, “ in disguise, and had heard of me from his son *Sbaikh HAMDULLAH.*” I gave him an account of my journey, and extolled the beauties of his country: he put many questions concerning mine, and professed great regard for our nation. “ But I hear, said he, that you are a magistrate, “ and consequently profess peace: why are you “ armed with a broad sword ? ” “ I was a man, “ I said, before I was a magistrate; and, if it “ should ever happen, that law could not protect me, I must protect myself.” He seemed about sixty years old, had a very cheerful countenance, and great appearance of good nature mixed with a certain dignity, which distinguished him from the crowd of ministers and officers, who attended him. Our conversation was interrupted by notice, that it was the time for evening prayers; and, when he rose, he

said : " this house is yours, and I will visit you in it, after you have taken some refreshment." Soon after, his servants brought a roast fowl, a rice-pudding, and some other dishes, with papayas, and very good pomegranates : my own basket supplied the rest of my supper. The room was hung with old red cloth, and decorated with pieces of porcelain and festoons of *English* bottles ; the lamps were placed on the ground in large sea-shells ; and the bed place was a recess, concealed by a chintz hanging, opposite to the sofa, on which we had been sitting : though it was not a place that invited repose, and the gnats were inexpressibly troublesome, yet the fatigue of the day procured me very comfortable slumber. I was waked by the return of the king and his train ; some of whom were *Arabs* ; for I heard one of them say *buwa rákid*, or *he is sleeping* : there was immediate silence, and I passed the night with little disturbance, except from the unwelcome songs of the mosquitos. In the morning all was equally silent and solitary ; the house appeared to be deserted ; and I began to wonder what had become of TUMU'NI : he came at length with concern on his countenance, and told me, that the bearers had run away in the night ; but that the king, who wished to see me in another of his houses, would supply me with bearers if he

could not prevail on me to stay, till a boat could be sent for. I went immediately to the king, whom I found sitting on a raised sofa in a large room, the walls of which were adorned with sentences from the *Koràn* in very legible characters: about fifty of his subjects were seated on the ground in a semicircle before him; and my interpreter took his place in the midst of them. The good old king laughed heartily, when he heard the adventure of the night, and said: "you will now be my guest for a week, "I hope; but seriously if you must return soon, "I will send into the country for some peasants "to carry you." He then apologized for the behaviour of *Shaikh SA'LIM*, which he had heard from *TUMU'NI*, who told me afterwards, that he was much displeased with it, and would not fail to express his displeasure: he concluded with a long harangue on the advantage, which the *English* might derive, from sending a ship every year from *Bombay* to trade with his subjects, and on the wonderful cheapness of their commodities, especially of their cowries. Ridiculous as this idea might seem, it showed an enlargement of mind, a desire of promoting the interest of his people, and a sense of the benefits arising from trade, which could hardly have been expected from a petty *African* chief, and which, if he had been sovereign of *Yemen*,

might have been expanded into rational projects proportioned to the extent of his dominions. I answered, that I was imperfectly acquainted with the commerce of *India*; but that I would report the substance of his conversation, and would ever bear testimony to his noble zeal for the good of his country, and to the mildness with which he governed it. As I had no inclination to pass a second night in the island, I requested leave to return without waiting for bearers: he seemed very sincere in pressing me to lengthen my visit, but had too much *Arabian* politeness to be importunate. We, therefore, parted; and, at the request of TUMU'NI, who assured me that little time would be lost in showing attention to one of the worthiest men in *Hinzuàn*, I made a visit to the Governor of the town, whose name was MUTEKKA; his manners were very pleasing, and he showed me some letters from the officers of the *Brilliant*, which appeared to flow warm from the heart, and contained the strongest eloge of his courtesy and liberality. He insisted on filling my basket with some of the finest pomegranates I had ever seen; and I left the town, impressed with a very favourable opinion of the king and his governor. When I reascended the hill, attended by many of the natives, one of them told me in *Arabick*, that I was going to receive the highest mark of

distinction, that it was in the king's power to show me; and he had scarce ended, when I heard the report of a single gun: *Shaikh Ahmed* had saluted me with the whole of his ordnance. I waved my hat, and said *Allar Acbar*: the people shouted, and I continued my journey, not without fear of inconvenience from excessive heat and the fatigue of climbing rocks. The walk, however, was not on the whole unpleasant: I sometimes rested in the valleys, and forded all the rivulets, which refreshed me with their coolness, and supplied me with exquisite water to mix with the juice of my pomegranates, and occasionally with brandy. We were overtaken by some peasants, who came from the hills by a nearer way, and brought the king's present of a cow with her calf, and a she-goat with two kids: they had apparently been selected for their beauty, and were brought safe to *Bengal*. The prospects, which had so greatly delighted me the preceding day, had not yet lost their charms, though they wanted the recommendation of novelty: but I must confess, that the most delightful object in that day's walk of near ten miles was the black frigate, which I discerned at sunset from a rock near the Prince's Gardens. Close to the town I was met by a native, who perceiving me to be weary, opened a fine cocoa-nut, which afforded me a delicious

draught: he informed me, that one of his countrymen had been punished that afternoon for a theft on board the *Crocodile*, and added, that, in his opinion, the punishment was no less just, than the offence was disgraceful to his country. The offender, as I afterwards learned, was a youth of a good family, who had married a daughter of old ALWI'; but, being left alone for a moment in the cabin, and seeing a pair of blue morocco slippers, could not resist the temptation, and concealed them so ill under his gown, that he was detected with the mainer. This proves, that no principle of honour is instilled by education into the gentry of this island: even ALWI', when he had observed, that, "in the month of *Ramadán*, it was not "lawful to paint with *binna* or to tell lies," and when I asked, whether both were lawful all the rest of the year, answered, that "lies were innocent, if no man was injured by them." TUMU'NI took his leave, as well satisfied as myself with our excursion: I told him, before his master, that I transferred also to him the dollars, which were due to me out of the three guineas; and that, if ever they should part, I should be very glad to receive him into my service in *India*. Mr. ROBERTS, the master of the ship, had passed the day with *Sayyad AHMED*, and had learned from him a few curious cir-

cumstances concerning the government of *Hinzuàn*; which he found to be a monarchy limited by an aristocracy. The king, he was told, had no power of making war by his own authority; but, if the assembly of nobles, who were from time to time convened by him, resolved on a war with any of the neighbouring islands, they defrayed the charges of it by voluntary contributions, in return for which they claimed as their own all the booty and captives, that might be taken. The hope of gain or the want of slaves is usually the real motive for such enterprizes, and ostensible pretexts are easily found: at that very time, he understood, they meditated a war, because they wanted hands for the following harvest. Their fleet consisted of sixteen or seventeen small vessels, which they manned with about two thousand five hundred islanders armed with muskets and cutlasses, or with bows and arrows. Near two years before they had possessed themselves of two towns in *Mayáta*, which they still kept and garrisoned. The ordinary expenses of the government were defrayed by a tax from two hundred villages; but the three principal towns were exempt from all taxes, except that they paid annually to the Chief *Mufti* a fortieth part of the value of all their moveable property, and from that payment neither the king nor the no-

bles claimed an exemption. The kingly authority, by the principles of their constitution, was considered as elective, though the line of succession had not in fact been altered since the first election of a Sultan. He was informed, that a wandering *Arab*, who had settled in the island, had, by his intrepidity in several wars, acquired the rank of a chieftain, and afterwards of a king with limited powers; and that he was the *Grandfather* of *Shaikh AHMED*: I had been assured that *Queen HALI'MAH* was his *Grandmother*; and, that he was the *sixth* king; but it must be remarked, that the words *jedd* and *jeddah* in *Arabick* are used for a male and female *ancestor* indefinitely; and, without a correct pedigree of *AHMED*'s family, which I expected to procure but was disappointed, it would scarce be possible to ascertain the time, when his forefather obtained the highest rank in the government. In the year 1600 *Captain JOHN DAVIS*, who wrote an account of his voyage, found *Mayáta* governed by a king, and *Ansuame*, or *Hinzuàn*, by a queen, who showed him great marks of friendship: he anchored before the town of *Demos* (does he mean *Domóni*?) which was as large, he says, as *Plymouth*; and he concludes from the ruins around it, that it had once been a place of strength and grandeur. I can only say, that I observed no

such ruins. Fifteen years after, Captain PEYTON and Sir THOMAS ROE touched at the *Comara* islands, and from their several accounts it appears, that an old sultaneſſ then resided in *Hinzuàn*, but had a dominion paramount over all the iſles, three of her ſons governing *Mobila* in her name: if this be true, SOHAILY and the ſucceſſors of HALI'MAH muſt have loſt their influence over the other iſlands; and, by renewing their dormant claim as it ſuits their conve-nience, they may always be furnished with a pretence for hoſtilities. Five generations of eldeſt ſons would account for an hundred and fevety of the years, which haue elapſed, ſince DAVIS and PEYTON found *Hinzuàn* ruled by a sultaneſſ; and AHMED was of ſuch an age, that his reign may be reckoned equal to a genera-tion: it is probable, on the whole, that HALI'-MAH was the widow of the firſt *Arabian* king, and that her moſque has been continued in re-pair by his deſcendants; ſo that we may reaſon-ably ſuppoſe two centuries to haue paſſed, ſince a ſingle *Arab* had the courage and address to eſtablish in that beautiful iſland a form of go-vernment, which, though bad enough in iſelf, ap-pears to haue been administered with advan-tage to the original inhabitants. We haue lately heard of civil commo-tions in *Hinzuàn*, which, we may ven-ture to pronounce, were not excited

by any cruelty or violence of AHMED, but were probably occasioned by the insolence of an oligarchy, naturally hostile to king and people. That the mountains in the *Comara* islands contain diamonds, and the precious metals, which are studiously concealed by the policy of the several governments, may be true, though I have no reason to believe it, and have only heard it asserted without evidence; but I hope, that neither an expectation of such treasures, nor of any other advantage, will ever induce an *European* power to violate the first principles of justice by assuming the sovereignty of *Hinzuàn*, which cannot answer a better purpose than that of supplying our fleets with seasonable refreshment; and, although the natives have an interest in receiving us with apparent cordiality, yet, if we wish their attachment to be unfeigned and their dealings just, we must set them an example of strict honesty in the performance of our engagements. In truth our nation is not cordially loved by the inhabitants of *Hinzuàn*, who, as it commonly happens, form a general opinion from a few instances of violence or breach of faith. Not many years ago an *European*, who had been hospitably received and liberally supported at *Matjamúdo*, behaved rudely to a young married woman, who, being of low degree, was walking veiled through a street in

the evening : her husband ran to protect her, and resented the rudeness, probably with menaces, possibly with actual force ; and the *European* is said to have given him a mortal wound with a knife or bayonet, which he brought, after the scuffle, from his lodging. This foul murder, which the law of nature would have justified the magistrate in punishing with death, was reported to the king, who told the governor (I use the very words of ALWI') that " it would " be wiser to hush it up." ALWI' mentioned a civil case of his own, which ought not to be concealed. When he was on the coast of *Africa* in the dominions of a very savage prince, a small *European* vessel was wrecked ; and the prince not only seized all that could be saved from the wreck, but claimed the captain and the crew as his slaves, and treated them with ferocious insolence. ALWI' assured me, that, when he heard of the accident, he hastened to the prince, fell prostrate before him, and by tears and importunity prevailed on him to give the *Europeans* their liberty ; that he supported them at his own expense, enabled them to build another vessel, in which they sailed to *Hinzuàn*, and departed thence for *Europe* or *India* : he showed me the Captain's promissory notes for sums, which to an *African* trader must be a considerable object, but which were no price for

liberty, safety, and, perhaps, life, which his good, though disinterested, offices had procured. I lamented, that, in my situation, it was wholly out of my power to assist ALWI' in obtaining justice; but he urged me to deliver an *Arabick* letter from him, enclosing the notes, to the Governor General, who, as he said, knew him well; and I complied with his request. Since it is possible, that a substantial defence may be made by the person thus accused of injustice, I will not name either him or the vessel, which he had commanded; but, if he be living, and if this paper should fall into his hands, he may be induced to reflect how highly it imports our national honour, that a people, whom we call savage, but who administer to our convenience, may have no just cause to reproach us with a violation of our contracts.

# A CONVERSATION

WITH

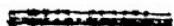
ABRAM, AN ABYSSINIAN,

CONCERNING

THE CITY OF GWENDER AND THE SOURCES OF THE NILE.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.



HAVING been informed, that a native of *Abyssinia* was in *Calcutta*, who spoke *Arabick* with tolerable fluency, I sent for and examined him attentively on several subjects, with which he seemed likely to be acquainted: his answers were so simple and precise, and his whole demeanour so remote from any suspicion of falsehood, that I made a minute of his examination, which may not perhaps be unacceptable to the Society. *Gwender*, which *BERNIER* had long ago pronounced a *Capital City*, though *LUDOLF* asserted it to be only a *Military Station*, and conjectured, that in a few years it would wholly disappear, is certainly, according to *ABRAM*, the *Metropolis* of *Abyssinia*. He says, that it is

nearly as large and as populous as *Misr* or *Káhera*, which he saw on his pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*; that it lies between two broad and deep rivers, named *Caba* and *Ancrib*, both which flow into the *Nile* at the distance of about fifteen days' journey; that all the walls of the houses are of a red stone, and the roofs of thatch; that the streets are like those of *Calcutta*, but that the ways, by which the king passes, are very spacious; that the palace, which has a plastered roof, resembles a fortress, and stands in the heart of the City; that the markets of the town abound in pulse, and have also wheat and barley, but no rice; that sheep and goats are in plenty among them, and that the inhabitants are extremely fond of milk, cheese, and whey, but that *the country people* and *soldiery* make no scruple of drinking the blood and eating the raw flesh of an ox, which they cut without caring whether he is dead or alive; that this savage diet is, however, by no means general. Almonds, he says, and dates are not found in his country, but grapes and peaches ripen there, and in some of the distant provinces, especially at *Cárudár*, wine is made in abundance; but a kind of mead is the common inebriating liquor of the *Abyssinians*. The late King was *Tilca Mahút* (the first of which words means *root or origin*), and the present, his bro-

ther *Tilca Jerjis*. He represents the royal forces at *Gwender* as considerable, and asserts, perhaps at random, that near forty thousand horse are in that station ; the troops are armed, he says, with muskets, lances, bows and arrows, cimeters and hangers. The council of state consists, by his account, of about forty Ministers, to whom almost all the executive part of government is committed. He was once in the service of a *Vazir*, in whose train he went to see the fountains of the *Nile* or *Abey*, usually called *Alwey*, about eight days' journey from *Gwender*: he saw three springs, one of which rises from the ground with a great noise, that may be heard at the distance of five or six miles. I showed him the description of the *Nile* by **GREGORY** of *Ambara*, which **LUDOLF** has printed in *Ethiopick* : he both read and explained it with great facility ; whilst I compared his explanation with the *Latin* version, and found it perfectly exact. He asserted of his own accord, that the description was conformable to all that he had seen and heard in *Ethiopia* ; and, for that reason, I annex it. When I interrogated him on the languages and learning of his country, he answered, that six or seven tongues at least were spoken there ; that the most elegant idiom, which the King used, was the *Ambarick* ; that the *Ethiopick* contained, as

it is well known, many *Arabick* words ; that, besides their sacred books, as the prophesy of ENOCH, and others, they had histories of *Abyssinia* and various literary compositions ; that their language was taught in schools and colleges, of which there were several in the Metropolis. He said, that no *Abyssinian* doubted the existence of the royal prison called *Wabinin*, situated on a very lofty mountain, in which the sons and daughters of their Kings were confined ; but that, from the nature of the thing, a particular description of it could not be obtained. “ All these matters, said he, are explained, I suppose, in the writings of YAKUB, whom I saw thirteen years ago in *Gwender* : “ he was a physician, and had attended the King’s brother, who was also a *Vazir*, in his last illness : the prince died ; yet the king loved YAKUB, and, indeed, all the court and people loved him : the king received him in his palace as a guest, supplied him with every thing, that he could want ; and, when he went to see the sources of the *Nile* and other curiosities (for he was extremely curious), he received every possible assistance and accommodation from the royal favour : he understood the languages, and wrote and collected many books, which he carried with him.” It was impossible for me to doubt, especially

when he described the person of YAKU's, that he meant JAMES BRUCE, Esq. who travelled in the dress of a *Syrian* physician, and probably assumed with judgement a name well known in *Abyssinia*: he is still revered on *Mount Sinai* for his sagacity in discovering a spring, of which the monastery was in great need; he was known at *Jedda* by MIR MOHAMMED HUSSAIN, one of the most intelligent *Mahomedans* in *India*: and I have seen him mentioned with great regard in a letter from an *Arabian* merchant at *Mokha*. It is probable, that he entered *Abyssinia* by the way of *Musuwwa*, a town in the possession of the *Muselmans*, and returned through the desert mentioned by GREGORY in his description of the *Nile*. We may hope, that Mr. BRUCE will publish an account of his interesting travels, with a version of the book of ENOCH, which no man but himself can give us with fidelity. By the help of *Abyssinian* records, great light may be thrown on the history of *Yemen* before the time of MUHAMMED, since it is generally known, that four *Ethiop* kings successively reigned in that country, having been invited over by the natives to oppose the tyrant DHU' NAWA's, and that they were in their turn expelled by the arms of the *Himyarick* princes with the aid of ANUSHIRVAN king of *Perse*, who did not fail, as it usually happens,

to keep in subjection the people, whom he had consented to relieve. If the annals of this period can be restored, it must be through the histories of *Abyssinia*, which will also correct the many errors of the best *Asiatick* writers on the *Nile*, and the countries which its fertilises.

ON

## THE COURSE OF THE NILE.

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THE *Nile*, which the *Abyssinians* know by the names of *Abéy* and *Alawy*, or the *Giant*, gushes from several springs at a place, called *Sucút*, lying on the highest part of *Dengalá* near *Gojjám*, to the west of *Bajemdir*, and the lake of *Dara* or *Wed*; into which it runs with so strong and rapid a current, that it mixes not with the other waters, but rides or swims, as it were, above them.

All the rains, that fall in *Abyssinia* and descend in torrents from the hills, all streams and rivers, small and great, except the *Hanázó*, which washes the plains of *Hengót*, and the *Ha-wáš* which flows by *Dewár* and *Fetgár*, are collected by this king of waters, and, like vassals, attend his march: thus enforced he rushes, like a hero exulting in his strength, and hastens to fertilise the land of *Egypt*, on which no rain falls. We must except also those *Ethiopean* rivers, which rise in countries bordering on the ocean, as the kingdoms of *Cambát*, *Gurájy*,

*Wásy, Náriyah, Gásy, Wej, and Zinjiro*, whose waters are disembogued into the sea:

When the *Alawy* has passed the Lake, it proceeds between *Gojjám* and *Bajemdir*, and, leaving them to the west and east, pursues a direct course towards *Ambará*, the skirts of which it bathes, and then turns again to the west, touching the borders of *Walaka*; whence it rolls along *Múgár* and *Shawai*; and, passing *Bazáwá* and *Gongá*, descends into the lowlands of *Shankila*, the country of the Blacks: thus it forms a sort of spiral round the province of *Gojjám*, which it keeps for the most part on its right.

Here it bends a little to the east, from which quarter, before it reaches the districts of *Sennár*, it receives two large rivers, one called *Tacazzy*, which runs from *Tegri*, and the other, *Gwangue*, which comes from *Dembeidá*.

After it has visited *Sennár*, it washes the land of *Dongolá*, and proceeds thence to *Nubia*, where it again turns eastward, and reaches a country named *Abrim*, where no vessels can be navigated, by reason of the rocks and crags, which obstruct the channel. The inhabitants of *Sennár* and *Nubia* may constantly drink of its water, which lies to the east of them like a strong bulwark; but the merchants of *Abyssinia*, who travel to *Egypt*, leave the *Nile* on their right, as soon as they have passed *Nubia*, and

are obliged to traverse a desert of sand and gravel, in which for fifteen days they find neither wood nor water; they meet it again in the country of *Reif* or *Upper Egypt*, where they find boats on the river, or ride on its banks, refreshing themselves with its salutary streams.

It is asserted by some travellers, that, when the *Alawey* has passed *Sennár* and *Dongolá*, but before it enters *Nubia*, it divides itself; that the great body of water flows entire into *Egypt*, where the smaller branch (the *Niger*) runs westward, not so as to reach *Barbary*, but towards the country of *Alwáb*, whence it rushes into the great sea. The truth of this fact I have verified, partly by my own observation, and partly by my inquiries among intelligent men; whose answers seemed the more credible, because, if so prodigious a mass of water were to roll over *Egypt* with all its wintry increase, not the land only, but the houses, and towns, of the *Egyptians* must be overflowed.

ON

## THE INDIAN GAME OF CHESS.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

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IF evidence be required to prove that chess was invented by the *Hindus*, we may be satisfied with the testimony of the *Perians*; who, though as much inclined as other nations to appropriate the ingenious inventions of a foreign people, unanimously agree, that the game was imported from the west of *India*, together with the charming fables of *VISHNUSARMAN*, in the sixth century of our era: it seems to have been immemorially known in *Hindustan* by the name of *Chaturanga*, that is, the four *anga's*, or members, of an army, which are said in the *Amaraçōsha* to be *hastya's warat'hapadatam*, or elephants, *borses*, chariots, and foot-soldiers; and, in this sense, the word is frequently used by Epick poets in their descriptions of real armies. By a natural corruption of the pure *Sanscrit* word, it was changed by the old *Perians* into *Chatrang*, but the *Arabs*, who soon after took possession of their country, had neither the initial nor final

letter of that word in their alphabet, and consequently altered it further into *Shatranj*, which found its way presently into the modern *Persian*, and at length into the dialects of *India*, where the true derivation of the name is known only to the learned: thus has a very significant word in the sacred language of the *Bráhmans* been transformed by successive changes into *axedrez*, *scacchi*, *échecs*, *chess*, and, by a whimsical concurrence of circumstances, given birth to the *English* work *check*, and even a name to the *Exchequer* of *Great Britain*. The beautiful simplicity and extreme perfection of the game, as it is commonly played in *Europe* and *Afia*, convince me, that it was invented by one effort of some great genius; not completed by gradual improvements, but formed, to use the phrase of *Italian* criticks, *by the first intention*; yet of this simple game, so exquisitely contrived, and so certainly invented in *India*, I cannot find any account in the classical writings of the *Bráhmans*. It is, indeed, confidently asserted, that *Sanskrit* books on *Chefs* exist in this country, and, if they can be procured at *Bandres*, they will assuredly be sent to us: at present I can only exhibit a description of a very ancient *Indian* game of the same kind; but more complex, and, in my opinion, more modern, than the simple *Chefs* of the *Persians*. This game is

also called *Chaturanga*, but more frequently *Chatúrájì*, or the *four Kings*, since it is played by four persons representing as many princes, two allied armies combating on each side: the description is taken from the *Bhawishya Purán*, in which YUDHISHT'HIR is represented conversing with VYASA, who explains at the king's request the form of the fictitious warfare and the principal rules of it: “ having marked “ eight squares on all sides, says the Sage, place “ the *red* army to the east, the *green* to the “ south, the *yellow* to the west, and the *black* to “ the north: let the *elephant* stand on the left of “ the *king*; next to him, the *horse*; then, the “ *boat*; and, before them all, four *foot-soldiers*; “ but the *boat* must be placed in the angle of “ the board.” From this passage it clearly appears, that an army, with its four *anga's*, must be placed on each side of the board, since an *elephant* could not stand, in any other position, on the *left* hand of each *king*; and RADHACANT informed me, that the board consisted, like ours, of *sixty-four* squares, half of them occupied by the forces, and half, vacant: he added, that this game is mentioned in the oldest law-books, and that it was invented by the wife of RA'VAN, king of *Lancà*, in order to amuse him with an image of war, while his metropolis was closely besieged by RA'MA in the second

age of the world. He had not heard the story told by FIRDAUSI near the close of the *Sháhnámah*, and it was probably carried into Persia from Cánjacuvja by Borzu, the favourite physician, thence called *Vaidyapriya*, of the great ANUSHIRAVA'N; but he said, that the Bráhmans of Gaur, or Bengal, were once celebrated for superior skill in the game, and that his father, together with his spiritual preceptor JAGANNA'T'H, now living at Tribéni, had instructed two young Bráhmans in all the rules of it, and had sent them to Jayanagar at the request of the late Rájá, who had liberally rewarded them. A *ship*, or *boat*, is substituted, we see, in this complex game for the *rat'b*, or armed chariot, which the Bengalese pronounce *rot'b*, and which the Persians changed into *rokh*, whence came the *rook* of some European nations; as the *vierge* and *fol* of the French are supposed to be corruptions of *ferz* and *fil*, the prime minister and elephant of the Persians and Arabs; it were vain to seek an etymology of the word *rook* in the modern Persian language; for, in all the passages extracted from FIRDAUSI and JA'MI, where *rokh* is conceived to mean a *hero*, or a *fabulous bird*, it signifies, I believe, no more than a *cheek* or a *face*; as in the following description of a procession in Egypt: "when a thoufand youths, like cypresses, box-trees, and

" firs, with locks as fragrant, cheeks as fair, and  
" bosoms as delicate, as lilies of the valley, were  
" marching gracefully along, thou wouldst have  
" said, that the new spring was *turning his face*  
" (not, as HYDE translates the words, *carried on*  
" *rokhs*) from station to station;" and, as to  
the battle of the *dúwázdeb rokb*, which D'HER-  
BELOT supposes to mean *douze preux chevaliers*,  
I am strongly inclined to think, that the phrase  
only signifies a combat of *twelve persons face to*  
*face*, or six on a side. I cannot agree with my  
friend RADHACANT, that a *ship* is properly  
introduced in this imaginary warfare instead of  
a *chariot*, in which the old *Indian* warriours  
constantly fought; for, though the *king* might  
be supposed to sit in a *car*, so that the four  
*anga's* would be complete, and though it may  
often be necessary in a real campaign to pass  
rivers or lakes, yet, no river is marked on the  
*Indian*, as it is on the *Chinese*, chess-board, and  
the intermixture of ships with horses, elephants,  
and infantry embattled on a plain, is an ab-  
surdity not to be defended. The use of *dice*  
may, perhaps, be justified in a representation of  
war, in which *fortune* has unquestionably a  
great share, but it seems to exclude chess from  
the rank, which has been assigned to it, among  
the sciences, and to give the game before us the  
appearance of *whist*, except that pieces are used

openly, instead of cards which are held concealed : nevertheless we find, that the moves in the game described by VYASA were to a certain degree regulated by *chance*; for he proceeds to tell his royal pupil, that, “ if *cinqe* be “ thrown, the *king* or a *pawn* must be moved ; “ if *quatre*, the *elephant* ; if *trois*, the *horse* ; and “ if *deux*, the *boat*.”

He then proceeds to the moves : “ the *king* “ passes freely on all sides but over *one* square “ only ; and with the same limitation, the *pawn* “ moves, but he advances straight forward, and “ kills his enemy through an angle ; the *ele-phant* marches in all directions, as far as his “ driver pleases ; the *horse* runs obliquely, tra-“ versing three squares ; and the *ship* goes over “ two squares diagonally.” The elephant, we find, has the powers of our *queen*, as we are pleased to call the *minister*, or *general*, of the *Persians*, and the *ship* has the motion of the piece, to which we give the unaccountable appellation of *bishop*, but with a restriction, which must greatly lessen his value.

The bard next exhibits a few general rules and superficial directions for the conduct of the game : “ the *pawns* and the *ship* both kill and “ may be voluntarily killed ; while the *king*, the “ *elephant*, and the *horse* may slay the foe, but “ cannot expose themselves to be slain. Let

“ each player preserve his own forces with extreme care, securing his *king* above all, and not sacrificing a superior, to keep an inferior, piece.” Here the commentator on the *Purán* observes, that, the *horse*, who has the choice of eight moves from any central position, must be preferred to the *ship*, who has only the choice of four; but this argument would not have equal weight in the common game, where the *bishop* and *tower* command a whole line, and where a knight is always of less value than a tower in action, or the bishop of that side on which the attack is begun. “ It is by the overbearing power of the *elephant*, that the king fights boldly; let the whole army, therefore, be abandoned, in order to secure the *elephant*: the king must never place one elephant before another, according to the rule of *Go'TAMA*, unless he be compelled by want of room, for he would thus commit a dangerous fault; and, if he can slay one of two hostile elephants, he must destroy that on his left hand.” The last rule is extremely obscure; but, as *Go'TAMA* was an illustrious lawyer and philosopher, he would not have condescended to leave directions for the game of *Chaturanga*, if it had not been held in great estimation by the ancient sages of *India*.

All that remains of the passage, which was

copied for me by RA'DHA'CA'NT and explained by him, relates to the several modes, in which a partial success or complete victory may be obtained by any one of the four players; for we shall see, that, as if a dispute had arisen between two allies, one of the kings may assume the command of all the forces, and aim at separate conquest. "First, when any one king has placed himself on the square of another king, "which advantage is called *Sinhásana*, or *the throne*, he wins a stake; which is doubled, if "he kill the adverse monarch, when he seizes "his place; and, if he can seat himself on the "throne of his ally, he takes the command of "the whole army." Secondly; "if he can occupy successively the thrones of all three "princes, he obtains the victory, which is "named *Chatúrájì*, and, the stake is doubled, if "he kill the last of the three, just before he "takes possession of his throne; but, if he kill "him on his throne, the stake is quadrupled." Thus, as the commentator remarks, in a real warfare, a king may be considered as victorious, when he seizes the metropolis of his adversary; but, if he can destroy his foe, he displays greater heroism, and relieves his people from any further solicitude. "Both in gaining the *Sinhásana* "and the *Chatúrájì*, says VYAS'A, the king "must be supported by the *elephants* or by all

“ the forces united.” Thirdly ; “ When one player has his own king on the board, but the king of his partner has been taken, he may replace his captive ally, if he can seize both the adverse kings ; or, if he cannot effect their capture, he may exchange his king for one of them, against the general rule, and thus redeem the allied prince, who will supply his place.” This advantage has the name of *Nṛipácrishtā*, or *recovered by the king* ; and the *Naucácrishtā* seems to be analogous to it, but confined to the case of *śíps*. Fourthly ; “ If a pawn can march to any square on the opposite extremity of the board, except that of the king, or that of the ship, he assumes whatever power belonged to that square ; and this promotion is called *Shat'pada*, or the six strides.” Here we find the rule, with a singular exception, concerning the advancement of pawns, which often occasions a most interesting struggle at our common chess, and which has furnished the poets and moralists of *Arabia* and *Persia* with many lively reflections on human life. It appears, that “ this privilege of *Shat'pada* was not allowable, in the opinion of *Gotama*, when a player had three pawns on the board ; but, when only one pawn and one ship remained, the pawn might advance even to the square of a king or a ship, and

“ assume the power of either.” Fifthly ; “ According to the *Rácsás*’s, or giants (that is, “ the people of *Lancà*, where the game was invented), there could be neither victory nor defeat, if a king were left on the plain without force ; a situation which they named *Cácacáshtha*.” Sixthly ; “ If three ships happen to meet, and the fourth ship can be brought up to them in the remaining angle, this has the name of *Vribannaucà* ; and the player of the fourth seizes all the others.” Two or three of the remaining couplets are so dark, either from an error in the manuscript or from the antiquity of the language, that I could not understand the *Pandit*’s explanation of them, and suspect that they gave even him very indistinct ideas ; but it would be easy, if it were worth while, to play at the game by the preceding rules ; and a little practice would, perhaps, make the whole intelligible. One circumstance, in this extract from the *Puràn*, seems very surprizing : all games of hazard are positively forbidden by MENU, yet the game of *Caturanga*, in which dice are used, is taught by the great VYAS himself, whose lawtract appears with that of GOTAMA among the eighteen books, which form the *Dhermasástra* ; but, as RADHACÁNT and his preceptor JAGANNA'TH are both employed by government

in compiling a Digest of *Indian* laws, and as both of them, especially the venerable Sage of *Tribéni*, understand the game, they are able, I presume, to assign reasons, why it should have been excepted from the general prohibition, and even openly taught by ancient and modern *Bráhmans*.

AN  
INDIAN GRANT OF LAND  
IN Y.C. 1018,  
LITERALLY TRANSLATED FROM THE SANSKRIT,  
BY THE PRESIDENT.

AS EXPLAINED BY

*RAMMOCHAN PANDIT, communicated by GENERAL CARNIC,*

O'M. VICTORY AND ELEVATION !

STANZAS.

MAY He, who in all affairs claims precedence in adoration ; may that *Gan'āyaca*, averting calamity, preserve you from danger !

2. May that SIVA constantly preserve you, on whose head shines (*GANGA'*) the daughter of JAHNU resembling-the-pure-crescent-rising-from-the-summit-of-SUMERU ! (*a compound word of sixteen syllables*).

3. May that God, the cause of success, the cause of felicity, who keeps, placed even by himself on his forehead a section of the-moon-with-cool-beams, drawn-in-the-form-of-a-line-resembling-that-in-the-infinitely-bright spike-of-



a-fresh-blown - *Cétaca* (who is) adorned-with-a-grove-of-thick-red locks-tied-with-the-Prince-of-Serpents, be always present and favourable to you !

4. The son of JI'MU'TACE'TU ever affectionate, named JI'MU'TAVA'HANA, who, surely, preserved (the Serpent) S'ANC'HACHU'D'A from *Garud'a* (*the Eagle of VISHNU*), was famed in the three worlds, having neglected his own body, as if it had been grafts; for the sake of others.

5. (*Two couplets in rhyme.*) In his family was a monarch (named) CAPARDIN (or, *with thick hair*, a title of MAHA'DE'VA), chief of the race of SI'LARA, repressing the insolence of his foes ; and from him came a son, named PULAS'ACTI, equal in increasing glory to the sun's bright circle.

6. When that son of CAPARDIN was a newborn infant, through fear of him, homage was paid by all his collected enemies, with water held aloft in their hands, to the delight of his realm.

7. From him came a son, the only warriour on earth, named SRI'VAPPUVANNA, a Hero in the theatre of battle.

8. His son, called S'R'I JHANJHA, was highly

celebrated, and the preserver of *bis country*; he afterwards became the Sovereign of *Gégni*: he had a beautiful form.

9. From him *came* a son, whose-renown-was-far-extented-and-who-confounded-the-mind-with-his-wonderful-acts, the fortunate BAJJADA DEVA: he was a monarch, a gem in-the-diadem-of-the-world's-circumference; who used only the forcible weapon of his two arms readily on the plain of combat; and in whose bosom the Fortune of Kings herself amorously played, as *in the bosom* of the foe of MURA (or VISHNU).

10. Like JAYANTA, *son* to the foe of VRITTA (or INDRA), like SHANMUC'HA (or CARTICE'YA) *son* to PURA'RI (or MAHA'DE'VA) then sprang from him a fortunate son, with a true heart, invincible;

11. Who in liberality was CARNA before our eyes, in truth even YUDHISHTHIRA, in glory a blazing Sun, and the rod of CA'LA (or YAMA, *judge of the infernal regions*) to his enemies;

12. By whom the great counsellors, who were under his protection, and others near *him*, are preserved in this world: he is a conqueror, named with propriety SARANA'GATA VAJRA-PANJARA'DE'VA.

13. By whom when this world was over-

shadowed with continual presents of gold, for his liberality he was named JAGADARTHI (or *Enriching the World*) in the midst of the three regions of the universe.

14. Those Kings assuredly, whoever they may be, who are endued with minds capable of ruling their respective dominions, praise him for the greatness of his veracity, generosity, and valour; and to those princes, who are deprived of their domains, and seek his protection, he allows a firm settlement: may he, the Grandfather of the RAYA, be victorious! he is the spiritual guide of his counsellors, and they are his pupils. Yet farther.

15. He, by whom the title of GO'MMA'YA was conferred on a person who attained the object of his desire; by whom the realm, shaken by a man named E'YAPADE'VA, was even made firm, and by whom, being the prince of *Mamalambuva* (I suppose, *Mambéi*, or *Bombay*) security from fear was given to me broken with affliction; He was the King, named S'R'I' VIRUDANCA: how can he be otherwise painted? *Here six syllables are effaced in one of the Grants; and this verse is not in the other.*

16. His son was named BAJJADADE'VA, a gem on the forehead of monarchs, eminently skilled in morality; whose deep thoughts all

the people, clad in horrid armour, praise even to this day.

17. Then was born his brother the prince ARICE'SARI (a lion among his foes), the best of good men; who, by overthrowing the strong mountain of his proud enemies, did the act of a thunder-bolt; having formed great designs even in his childhood, and having seen the Lord of the Moon (MAHA'DE'VA) standing before him, he marched by his father's order, attended by his troops, and by valour subdued the world.

Yet more—————.

18. Having raised up his slain foe on his sharp sword, he so afflicted the women in the hostile palaces, that their forelocks fell disordered, their garlands of bright flowers dropped from their necks on the vases of their breasts, and the black lustre of their eyes disappeared.

19. A *warriour*, the plant of whose fame grows up over the temple of BRAHMA's Egg (the universe), from-the repeated-watering-of-it-with-the-drops-that-fell-from-the-eyes-of-the-wives-of-his-slaughtered-foe.

Afterwards by the multitude of his innate virtues (*then follows a compound word of an hundred and fifty-two syllables*) the-fortunate-ARI-

ee'SARI-De'VARA'JA-Lord-of-the-great-circle-adorned-with-all-the-company-of-princes-with-VAJRAPANJARA-of-whom-men-seek-the-protection-an-elephant's-hook-in-the-forehead-of-the-world-pleased-with-encreasing-vice-a-Flamingo-bird-in-the-pool-decked-with-flowers-like-those-of-paradise-and-with-A'DITYA-PANDITA-chief-of-the-districts-of-the-world-through-the-liberality-of-the-lord-of-the-Western-Sea-holder-of-innate-knowledge-who-bears-a-golden-eagle-on-his-standard-descended-from-the-stock-of JI'MU'TAVA'HANA-king-of-the-race of-Silára-Sovereign-of-the-City-of-Tagara-Supreme-ruler-of-exalted-counsellors-assembled-when-extended-fame-had-been-attained (*the monarch thus described*) governs-the-whole region-of-Cónca-na-consisting-of-fourteen-hundred-villages-with-cities-and-other-places-comprehended in-many-districts-acquired-by-his-arm. Thus he supports the burden of thought concerning this domain. The Chief-Minister S'R'I VASAPAIYA and the very-religiously-purified S'R'I VARDHIIYAPAIYA being at this time present, he, the fortunate ARICE'SARIDE'VARA'JA, Sovereign of the great circle, *thus addresses even all who inhabit-the-city-S'R'I STHA'NACA (or the Mansion of LACSHM'I)*, his-own-kinsmen-and-others-there-assembled, princes-counsellors-priests-ministers-superiors-inferiors-subject-to-his

commands, also the-lords-of-districts,-the-Governors-of-towns-chiefs-of-villages-the-masters-of-families-employed-or-unemployed-servants-of the-King-and-his-countymen. Thus he greets all-the-holy-men-and-others-inhabiting-the-city-of *Hanyamana*: reverence be to you, as it is becoming, with all the marks of respect, salutation, and praise !

STANZA.

Wealth is inconstant; youth, destroyed in an instant; and life, placed between the teeth of CRITANTA (*or YAMA before mentioned*).

Nevertheless neglect is shown to the felicity of departed ancestors. Oh! how astonishing are the efforts of men!

And thus.—Youth is publickly swallowed-up by-the-giantess Old-Age admitted-into-its-inner mansion; and the bodily-frame -is-equally -obnoxious-to-the-assault-of-death -of-age -and-the-misery-born -with-man -of-separation -between-united-friends-like-falling-from-heaven-into-the-lower regions: riches and life are two things more-moveable-than-a-drop-of water-trembling-on-the-leaf-of-a-lotos-shaken-by-the-wind; and the world is like-the-first delicate -foliage -of-a-plantain tree. Considering this in secret with a firm dispassionate understanding, and also the

fruit of liberal donations mentioned by the wife,  
*I call to mind these*

## STANZAS.

1. In the *Satya*, *Trétá*, and *Dwáper* Ages, great piety was celebrated : but in this *Caliyuga* the *Muni's* have nothing to commend but liberality,

2. Not so productive of fruit is learning, not so productive is piety, as liberality, say the *Muni's*, in this *Cali* Age. And, thus was it said by the Divine VYÁSA :

3. Gold was the first offspring of Fire ; the Earth is the daughter of VISHNU, and kine are the children of the Sun : the three worlds, therefore, are assuredly given by him, who makes a gift of Gold, Earth, and Cattle.

4. Our deceased fathers clap their hands, our Grandfathers exult : saying, " a donor of land " is born in our family : he will redeem us."

5. A donation of land to good persons, for holy pilgrimages, and on the (five) solemn days of the moon, is the mean of passing over the deep boundless ocean of the world.

6. White parasols, and elephants mad with pride (the *insignia* of royalty) are the flowers of a grant of land : the fruit is INDRA in heaven.

Thus, confirming the declarations of the-ancient-Muni's-learned-in-the-distinction-between-justice-and-injustice, for the sake of benefit to my mother, my father, and myself, on the fifteenth of the bright moon of *Cártica*, in the middle of the year *Pingala* (perhaps of the *Serpent*), when nine hundred and forty years, save one, are reckoned as past from the time of King SACA, or, in figures, the year 939, of the bright moon of *Cártica* : 5 (that is 1708—939 = 769 years ago from Y. C. 1787. The moon being then full and eclipsed, I having bathed in the opposite sea resembling -the-girdles-round-the-waist-of-the-female-Earth, tinged-with-a-variety-of-rays-like-many-exceedingly-bright-rubies,-pearls - and - other - gems, with - water-whose-mud-was-become-musk-through-the-frequent-bathing-of-the-fragnant-bosom-of-beautiful-Goddesses-rising-up-after-having-dived-in-it ; and having offered to the sun, the divine luminary, the-gem-of-one-circle-of-heaven, eye-of-the-three-worlds, Lord of-the Lotos, a dish embellished-with-flowers-of-various-forts (this dish is filled with the plant *Darbha*, rice in the husk, different flowers, and sandal) have granted to him, who has viewed the preceptor of the Gods and of Demons, who has adored the 'Sovereign Deity the - husband - of - ÁMBICA' (or DURGA'), has sacrificed-caused-others-to-sacrif-

fice,-has-read-caused-others-to-read-and-has-performed-the-rest-of-the-six (Sacerdotal) functions; who-is-eminently-skilled-in-the-whole-business-of-performing-sacrifices, who-has-held-up the-root-and-stalk-of-the-sacred-lotos; who-inhabits-the-city-SRĪ ST'HĀ'NACA (*or abode of Fortune*), descended from JAMADAGNI; who-performs-due-rites-in-the-holy-stream; who-distinctly-knows-the-mysterious-branches (of the *Vēdas*), the domestick priest, the reader, SRĪ TICCA PAIYA, son of SRĪ CHCH'HINTAPAIYA the astronomer, for-the-purpose-of-sacrificing-causing-others-to-sacrifice-reading-causing-others-to-read-and-discharging-the-rest-of-the-six-(Sacerdotal-) duties, of performing-the (daily service of) *Vais'wadēva* with offerings of rice, milk, and materials of sacrifice, and-of-completing-with-due-solemnity the sacrifice-of-fire-of doing-such-acts-as-must-continually-be-done, and such-as-must-occasionally-be-performed, of paying-due-honours to guests and strangers, and-of-supporting his-own-family, the village of Chávinára-standing-at-the-extremity of-the-territory of *Vatsarāja*, and the boundaries of which are, to the East the village of Púagambá and a water-fall-from-a mountain; to the South the villages of Nágambá and Máládóngaricá; to the West the river Sámbarapállicá; to the North the villages of Sámbarivé and Cátiyálaca; and be-

sides this the full (*district*) of *Tocabalà Pallicà*, the boundaries of which are to the East *Sidá-balì*; to the South the river *Mó'i'bala*; to the West *Cácadé'va*, *Hallapallicà*, and *Bádaviraca*; to the North *Talávalì Pallicà*; and also the Village of *Aulaciyá*, the boundaries of which (are) to the East *Tádága*; to the South *Góviní*; to the West *Charicà*, to the North *Calibalaya-choli*: (that land) thus surveyed-on-the-four-quarters-and limited-to-its-proper-bounds, with its-herbage-wood-and-water, and with-power-of punishing-for-the-ten-crimes, except that before given as the portion of *Déva*, or of *Brahmà*, I have hereby released, and limited-by-the-duration-of-the-sun-the-moon-and-mountains, confirmed with-the-ceremony-of adoration, with a copious effusion of water and with the highest acts-of-worship; and the same land shall be enjoyed by his lineal-and-collateral-heirs, or caused-to-be-enjoyed, nor shall disturbance be given by any person whatever: since it is thus declared by great *Muni's*.

STANZAS.

1. The Earth is enjoyed by many kings, by SAGAR, and by others: to whomsoever the soil at any time belongs, to him at that time belong the fruits of it.

2. A speedy gift is attended with no fatigue;

a continued support, with great trouble: therefore, even the *Rishi's* declare, that a continuance of support is better than a single gift.

3. Exalted Emperors of good dispositions have given land, as RA'MABHADRA advises, again and again: this is the true bridge of justice for sovereigns: from time to time (O kings) that bridge must be repaired by you.

4. Those possessions here below, which have been granted in former times by sovereigns, given for-the-sake-of-religion-increase-of-wealth-or-of-fame, are exactly equal to flowers, which have been offered to a Deity: what good man would resume *such gifts*?

Thus, confirming the precepts of ancient *Muni's*, all future kings must gather the fruit-of-observing-religious-duties; and let not the stain-of-the-crime-of-destroying-this-grant be borne henceforth by any-one: since, whatever *prince*, being supplicated, shall, through avarice, having-his-mind-wholly-surrounded-with-the-gloom-of-ignorance-contemptuously-dismiss-the-injured-suppliant, He, being guilty of five great and five small crimes, shall long in darkness inhabit *Raurava*, *Maháraurava*, *Andha*, *Támisra*, and the other places of punishment. And thus it is declared by the divine VYASA:

## STANZAS.

1. He, who seizes land, given-by-himself or by-another (sovereign), will rot among worms, himself a worm, in the midst of ordure.

2. They, who seize granted-land, are born again, living with great fear, in dry cavities of trees in the unwatered forests on the *Vinddbian* (mountains).

3. By seizing one cow, one vesture, or even one nail's breadth of ground, a *king* continues in hell till an universal destruction of the world has happened.

4. By (a gift of) a thousand gardens, and by (a gift of) a hundred pools of water, by (giving) a hundred *lac* of oxen, a disseisor of (granted) land is not cleared from offence.

5. A grantor of land remains in heaven sixty thousand years; a disseisor, and he, who refuses to do justice, continues as many (years) in hell.

And, agreeably to this, in what is written by the hand of the Secretary, (the King) having ordered it, declares his own intention; as it is written by the command of me, sovereign of the great Circle, the fortunate ARICE'SARI DE'VARA'JA, son of the Sovereign of the Great Circle, the Fortunate, invincible, DE'VARA'JA.

And this is written, by order of the Fortunate

King, by me Jo'-UBA, the brother's-son-of S'R'I'  
NA'GALAIYA,-the great-Bard,-dwelling-in-the  
royal palace ; engraved-on-plates-of-copper by  
VEDAPAIYA's son MANA DHARA PAIYA.  
Thus (it ends).

Whatever herein (may be) defective in-one-  
syllable, or have-one-syllable-redundant, all that  
is (nevertheless) complete evidence (of the  
grant). Thus (ends the whole).

INSCRIPTIONS  
ON  
*THE STAFF OF FIRU'Z SHAH.*

TRANSLATED FROM THE SANSKRIT,

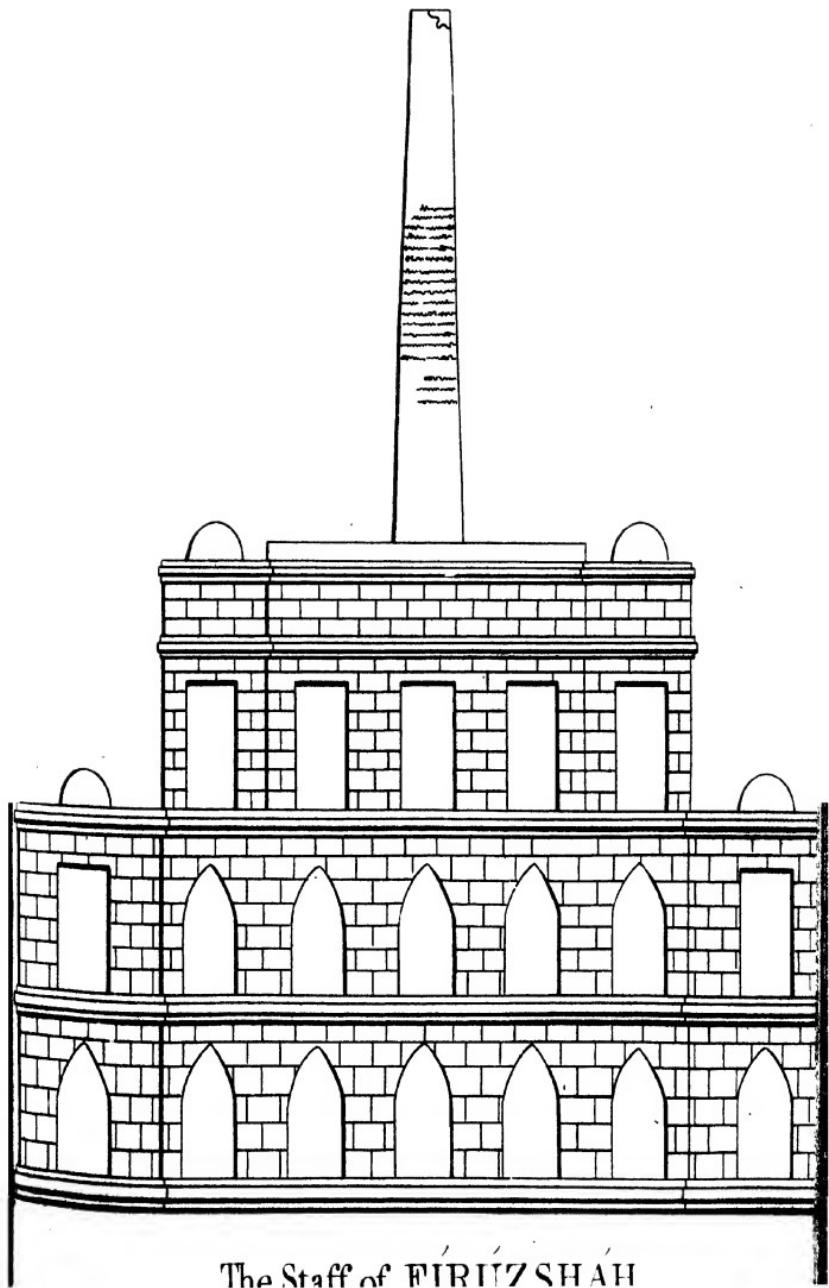
AS EXPLAINED BY RADHA'CANTA SARMAN.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

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ON a very singular monument near *Debli*, an outline of which is here exhibited, and which the natives call the Staff of *Firu'z Shah*, are several old Inscriptions partly in ancient *Nágarí* letters, and partly in a character yet unknown; and Lieutenant Colonel POLIER, having procured exact impressions of them, presents the Society with an accurate copy of all the inscriptions. Five of them are in *Sanskrit*, and, for the most part, intelligible; but it will require great attention and leisure to decypher the others: if the language be *Sanskrit*, the powers of the unknown letters may perhaps hereafter be discovered by the usual mode of decyphering; and that mode, carefully applied even at first, may lead to a discovery of the language. In the mean time a literal version of the legible inscriptions is laid before you: they are on the



The Staff of FIRUZ SHAH

whole sufficiently clear, but the sense of one or two passages is at present inexplicable.

## I.

The first, on the Southwest side of the pillar, is perfectly detached from the rest: it is about seventeen feet from the base, and two feet higher than the other inscriptions.

## OM.

In the year 1230, on the first day of the Bright half of the month *Vaisāc'h* (a monument), of the Fortunate-VI'SALA-DE'VA-son of the-Fortunate-AMILLA DE'VA,-King-of-Sá-cambhari.

## II.

The next, which is engraved as a specimen of the character, consists of two stanzas in four lines; but each hemistich is imperfect at the end, the two first wanting *seven*, and the two last *five*, syllables: the word *Sácambhari* in the former inscription enables us to supply the close of the *third* hemistich.

## OM.

As far as *Vindhya*, as far as *Himádri* (the mountain of Snow), he was not deficient in celebrity . . . . . making *Aryáverta* (the Land of Virtue, or India), even once more what its name signifies . . . . . He having departed,

**PRATIVĀHAMĀNA TILACA** (is) king of *Sācambharī*: *Sācam* only remains on the monument) by us (the region between) *Himawat* and *Vindhya* has been made tributary.

In the year from *Srī VICRAMA'DITYA* 123, in the Bright half of the month *Vaisāc'ha* . . . . at that time the *Rājaputra Srī SALLACA* was Prime Minister.

The second stanza, supplied partly from the last inscription, and partly by conjecture, will run thus :

*urittē sa prativāhamāna tilacab s'ācambharibbūpatib  
asmābhīb caradam vyadhāyi himawadvindhyātavimand'alam.*

The date 123 is here perfectly clear ; at least it is clear, that only three figures are written, without even room for a cipher after them ; whence we may guess, that the double circle in the former inscription was only an ornament, or the neutral termination *am* : if so, the date of both is the year of CHRIST sixty-seven ; but, if the double circle be a Zero, the monument of *VI'SALA DĒVA* is as modern as the year 1174 or nineteen years before the conquest of *Debli* by *SHIHA'BUDDI'N*.

### III. and IV.

The two next inscriptions were in the same words, but the stanzas, which in the fourth are extremely mutilated, are tolerably perfect in the



third, wanting only a few syllables at the beginning of the hemistichs :

yah cshivéshu prahartá nrípatishu vinamatcandhareshu prasannah  
 —vah s'ambí puríndrah jagati vijayaté vísalá cshónipálah  
     da sájnya ésha vijayi santánajánátmajah  
     púnán cshemástu bruvatamudyógas'únyanmanah

*He*, who is resentful to kings intoxicated with pride, indulgent to those, whose necks are humbled, an INDRA in the city of *Causámbi* (I suspect *Causámbi*, a city near *Hastinápur*, to be the true reading), *who* is victorious in the world, VI'SALA, sovereign of the earth : he gives . . . . his commands being obeyed, he is a conqueror, the son of SANTA'NAJA'NA, whose mind, when his foes say, 'Let there be mercy,' is free from further hostility.

This inscription was engraved, in the presence of SR'I TILACA RA'JA, by SRÍPATI, the son of MA'HAVA, a *Cáyast'ha*, of a family in *Gaud'a*, or *Bengal*.

## V.

The fifth seems to be an elegy on the death of a king named VIGRAHA, who is represented as only slumbering : the last hemistich is hardly legible and very obscure ; but the sense of both stanzas appears to be this.

## O'M.

i. An offence to the eyes of (thy) enemy's confort (thou) by-whom-fortune-was-given-to-

every suppliant, thy fame, joined to extensive dominion, shines, as we desire, before us: the heart of (thy) foes was vacant, even as a path in a desert, where men are hindered from passing, O fortunate VIGRAHA RA'JADE'VA, in the jubilee occasioned by thy march.

2. May thy abode, O VIGRAHA, sovereign of the world, be fixed, as in reason (it ought), in the bosoms, embellished with love's allurements and full of dignity, of the women with beautiful eyebrows, who were married to thy enemies! Whether thou art INDRA, or VISHNU, or SIVA, there is even no deciding: thy foes (are) fallen, like descending water; oh! why dost thou, through delusion, continue sleeping?

ON THE

## BAYA, OR INDIAN GROSS-BEAK.

*Described by AT'HAR ALI' KHA'N of Dchli.*

TRANSLATED

BY THE PRESIDENT.

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THE little bird, called *Bayà* in *Hindi*, *Berbera* in *Sanskrit*, *Bábúi* in the dialect of *Bengal*, *Cibù* in *Persian*, and *Tenawwit* in *Arabick*, from his remarkably *pendent* nest, is rather larger than a sparrow, with yellow-brown plumage, a yellowish head and feet, a light-coloured breast, and a conick beak very thick in proportion to his body. This bird is exceedingly common in *Hindustàn*: he is astonishingly sensible, faithful, and docile, never voluntarily deserting the place where his young were hatched, but not averse, like most other birds, to the society of mankind, and easily taught to perch on the hand of his master. In a state of nature he generally builds his nest on the highest tree, that he can find, especially on the palmyra, or on the *Indian* fig-tree, and he prefers that, which happens to overhang a well or a rivulet: he makes it of

grass, which he weaves like cloth and shapes like a large bottle, suspending it firmly on the branches, but so as to rock with the wind, and placing it with its entrance downwards to secure it from birds of prey. His nest usually consists of two or three chambers; and it is the popular belief, that he lights them with fire-flies, which he catches alive at night, and confines with moist clay, or with cow-dung: that such flies are often found in his nest, where pieces of cow-dung are also stuck, is indubitable; but, as their light could be of little use to him, it seems probable that he only feeds on them. He may be taught with ease to fetch a piece of paper, or any small thing, that his master points out to him: it is an attested fact, that, if a ring be dropped into a deep well, and a signal given to him, he will fly down with amazing celerity, catch the ring before it touches the water, and bring it up to his master with apparent exultation; and it is confidently asserted, that, if a house or any other place be shown to him once or twice, he will carry a note thither immediately on a proper signal being made. One instance of his docility I can myself mention with confidence, having often been an eye witness of it: the young *Hindu* women at *Banâres* and in other places wear very thin plates of gold, called *tica's*, slightly fixed by way of ornament

between their eye-brows ; and, when they pass through the streets, it is not uncommon for the youthful libertines, who amuse themselves with training *Bayà's*, to give them a sign which they understand, and send them to pluck the pieces of gold from the foreheads of their mistresses, which they bring in triumph to the lovers. The *Bayà* feeds naturally on grafshoppers and other insects, but will subsist, when tame, on pulse macerated in water : his flesh is warm and drying, of easy digestion, and recommended, in medical books, as a solvent of stone in the bladder or kidneys ; but of that virtue there is no sufficient proof. The female lays many beautiful eggs resembling large pearls : the white of them, when they are boiled, is transparent, and the flavour of them is exquisitely delicate. When many *Bayà's* are assembled on a high tree, they make a lively din, but it is rather chirping than singing ; their want of musical talents is, however, amply supplied by their wonderful sagacity, in which they are not excelled by any feathered inhabitants of the forest.

ON

## THE PANGOLIN OF BAHAR.

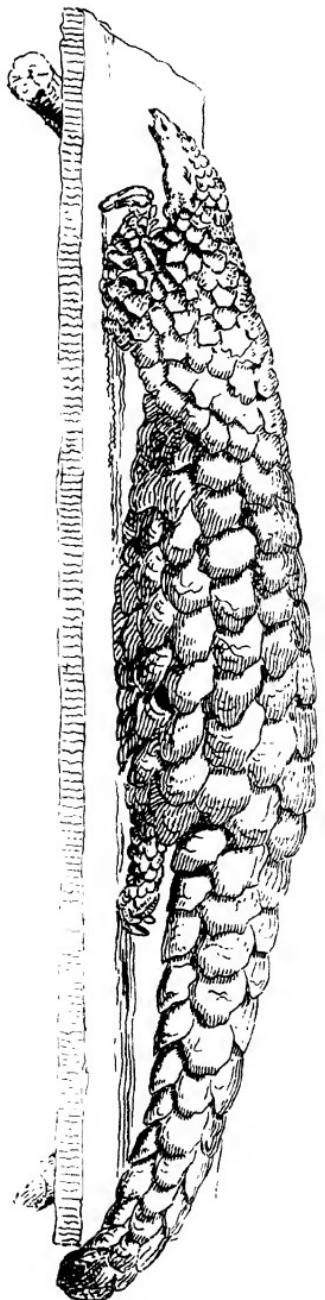
*SENT BY MATTHEW LESLIE, ESQ.*

AND DESCRIBED

BY THE PRESIDENT.

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THE singular animal, which M. BUFFON describes by the name of *Pangolin*, is well known in *Europe* since the publication of his Natural History and GOLDSMITH's elegant abridgement of it; but, if the figure exhibited by BUFFON was accurately delineated from the three animals, the spoils of which he had examined, we must consider that, which has been lately brought from *Caracdiah* to *Chitra*, and sent thence to the Presidency, as a remarkable variety, if not a different species, of the *Pangolin*: ours has hardly any neck, and, though some filaments are discernible between the scales, they can scarce be called bristles; but the principal difference is in the tail; that of BUFFON's animal being long, and tapering almost to a point, while that of ours is much shorter, ends obtusely, and resembles in form and flexibility the tail of a



The VAJRA CITA.

lobster. In other respects, as far as we can judge from the dead subject, it has all the characters of BUFFON's *Pangolin*: a name derived from that by which the animal is distinguished in *Java*, and consequently preferable to *Manis* or *Pholidotus*, or any other appellation deduced from an *European* language. As to the *scaly lizard*, the *scaled Armadillo*, and the *five-nailed Ant-eater*, they are manifestly improper designations of this animal; which is neither a *lizard*, nor an *armadillo* in the common acceptation; and, though it be an *ant-eater*, yet it essentially differs from the *hairy quadruped* usually known by that general description. We are told, that the *Malabar* name of this animal is *Alungu*: the natives of *Bahár* call it *Bajar-cít*, or, as they explain the word, *Stone-vermine*; and, in the stomach of the animal before us, was found about a teacupful of small *stones*, which had probably been swallowed for the purpose of facilitating digestion; but the name alludes, I believe, to the *hardness* of the scales; for *Vajracít'a* means in *Sanskrit* the *Diamond*, or *Thunderbolt*, *reptile*, and *Vajra* is a common figure in the *Indian* poetry for any thing excessively *hard*. The *Vajracít'a* is believed by the *Pandits* to be the animal, which gnaws their *sacred stone*, called *Sálgrámas'ílà*; but the *Pangolin* has apparently no teeth, and the *Sálgráms*,

many of which look as if they had been warm-eaten, are perhaps only decayed in part by exposure to the air.

This animal had a long tongue shaped like that of a chameleon ; and, if it was nearly adult, as we may conclude from the young one found in it, the dimensions of it were much less than those, which BUFFON assigns *generally* to his *Pangolin* : for he describes its length as six, seven, or eight feet including the tail, which is almost, he says, as long as the body, when it has attained its full growth ; whereas ours is but thirty-four inches long from the extremity of the tail to the point of the snout, and the length of the tail is fourteen inches ; but, exclusively of the head, which is five inches long, the tail and body are, indeed, nearly of the same length ; and the small difference between them may show, if BUFFON be correct in this point, that the animal was young : the circumference of its body in the thickest part is twenty inches, and that of the tail, only twelve.

We cannot venture to say more of this extraordinary creature, which seems to constitute the first step from the quadruped to the reptile, until we have examined it alive, and observed its different instincts ; but, as we are assured, that it is common in the country round Khán-púr, and at Chátigám, where the native *Musel-*

mans call it the *Land-carp*, we shall possibly be able to give on some future occasion a fuller account of it. There are in our *Indian* provinces many animals, and many hundreds of medicinal plants, which have either not been described at all, or, what is worse, ill described by the naturalists of *Europe*; and to procure perfect descriptions of them from actual examination, with accounts of their several *uses* in medicine, diet, or manufactures, appears to be one of the most important objects of our institution.

*Illustration by*  
*John D. Ladd*



passed over the chapter on the *Loris*, and ascertained it merely by seeing in a note the *Linnean* character of the slowpaced *Lemur*. The illustrious *French* naturalist, whom, even when we criticise a few parts of his noble work, we cannot but name with admiration, observes of the *Loris*, that, *from the proportion of its body and limbs, one would not suppose it slow in walking or leaping*, and intimates an opinion, that **SEBA** gave this animal the epithet of *slowmoving*, from some fancied likeness to the sloth of *America*: but, though its body be remarkably long in proportion to the breadth of it, and the hinder legs, or more properly arms, much longer than those before, yet the *Loris*, in fact, walks or climbs very slowly; and is, probably, unable to leap. Neither its genus nor species, we find, are new: yet, as its temper and instincts are undescribed, and as the *Natural History* by **M. DE BUFFON**, or the *System of Nature* by **LINNÆUS**, cannot always be readily procured, I have set down a few remarks on the *form*, the *manners*, the *name*, and the *country* of my little favourite, who engaged my affection, while he lived, and whose memory I wish to perpetuate.

I. This male animal had four hands, each five-fingered; palms, naked; nails, round; except those of the indices behind, which were long, curved, pointed; hair, very thick, espe-

cially on the haunches, extremely soft, mostly dark grey, varied above with brown and a tinge of russet; darker on the back, paler about the face and under the throat, reddish towards the rump; no tail, a dorsal stripe, broad, chefnut-nut-coloured, narrower towards the neck: a head, almost spherical: a countenance, expressive and interesting; eyes, round, large, approximated, weak in the day time, glowing and animated at night; a white vertical stripe between them; eye-lashes, black, short; ears, dark, rounded, concave; great acuteness at night both in seeing and hearing; a face, hairy, flattish; a nose, pointed, not much elongated; the upper lip, cleft; canine teeth, comparatively long, very sharp.

More than this I could not observe on the living animal; and he died at a season, when I could neither attend a dissection of his body, nor with propriety request any of my medical friends to perform such an operation during the heats of *August*; but I opened his jaw and counted only two incisors above and as many below, which might have been a defect, in the individual; and it is mentioned simply as a fact without any intention to censure the generick arrangement of LINNÆUS.

II. In his manners he was for the most part gentle, except in the cold season, when his tem-

per seemed wholly changed ; and his creator, who made him so sensible of cold, to which he must often have been exposed even in his native forests, gave him, probably, for that reason his thick fur, which we rarely see on animals in these tropical climates : to me, who not only constantly fed him, but bathed him twice a week in water accommodated to the seasons, and whom he clearly distinguished from others, he was at all times grateful ; but, when I disturbed him in winter, he was usually indignant, and seemed to reproach me with the uneasiness which he felt, though no possible precautions had been omitted to keep him in a proper degree of warmth. At all times he was pleased with being stroked on the head and throat, and frequently suffered me to touch his extremely sharp teeth ; but at all times his temper was quick, and, when he was unseasonably disturbed, he expressed a little resentment by an obscure murmur, like that of a squirrel, or a greater degree of displeasure, by a peevish cry, especially in winter, when he was often as fierce, on being much importuned, as any beast of the woods. From half an hour after sunrise to half an hour before sunset, he slept without intermission rolled up like a hedge-hog ; and as soon as he awoke, he began to prepare himself for the labours of his approaching day, licking and dressing himself

like a cat; an operation, which the flexibility of his neck and limbs enabled him to perform very completely: he was then ready for a light breakfast, after which he commonly took a short nap; but, when the sun was quite set, he recovered all his vivacity. His ordinary food was the sweet fruit of this country; plantains always, and mangos during the season; but he refused peaches, and was not fond of mulberries, or even of guaiavas: milk he lapped eagerly, but was contented with plain water. In general he was not voracious, but never appeared satiated with grasshoppers; and passed the whole night, while the hot season lasted, in prowling for them: when a grasshopper, or any insect, alighted within his reach, his eyes, which he fixed on his prey, glowed with uncommon fire; and, having drawn himself back to spring on it with greater force, he seized the victim with both his forepaws, but held it in one of them, while he devoured it. For other purposes, and sometimes even for that of holding his food, he used all his paws indifferently as hands, and frequently grasped with one of them the higher part of his ample cage, while his three others were severally engaged at the bottom of it: but the posture, of which he seemed fondest, was to cling with all four of them to the upper wires, his body being inverted; and in the evening he

usually stood erect for many minutes p'aying on the wires with his fingers and rapidly moving his body from side to side, as if he had found the utility of exercise in his unnatural state of confinement. A little before day break, when my early hours gave me frequent opportunities of observing him, he seemed to solicit my attention ; and, if I presented my finger to him, he licked or nibbled it with great gentleness, but eagerly took fruit, when I offered it ; though he seldom ate much at his morning repast : when the *day brought back his night*, his eyes lost their lustre and strength, and he composed himself for a slumber of ten or eleven hours.

III. The names *Loris* and *Lemur* will, no doubt, be continued by the respective disciples of BUFFON and LINNÆUS ; nor can I suggest any other, since the *Pandits* know little or nothing of the animal : the lower *Hindus* of this province generally call it *Lajjábánar*, or the Bashful Ape, and the *Muselmans*, retaining the sense of the epithet, give it the absurd appellation of a cat ; but it is neither a cat nor bashful ; for, though a *Pandit*, who saw my *Lemur* by day light, remarked that he was *Lajjálū* or *modest* (a word which the *Hindus* apply to all *Sensitive Plants*), yet he only seemed bashful, while in fact he was dim sighted and drowsy ;

for at night, as you perceive by his figure, he had open eyes, and as much boldness as any of the *Lemures* poetical or *Linnean*.

IV. As to his country, the first of the species, that I saw in *India*, was in the district of *Tipra*, properly *Tripura*, whither it had been brought, like mine, from the *Garrow* mountains; and Dr. ANDERSON informs me, that it is found in the woods on the coast of *Coromandel*: another had been sent to a member of our society from one of the eastern isles; and, though the *Loris* may be also a native of *Silán*, yet I cannot agree with M. DE BUFFON, that it is the minute, sociable, and docile animal mentioned by THEVENOT, which it resembles neither in size nor in disposition.

My little friend was, on the whole, very engaging; and, when he was found lifeless, in the same posture in which he would naturally have slept, I consoled myself with believing, that he had died without pain, and lived with as much pleasure as he could have enjoyed in a state of captivity.

ON THE  
CURE OF THE ELEPHANTIASIS.

*INTRODUCTORY NOTE.*

BY  
THE PRESIDENT.

---

AMONG the afflicting maladies, which punish the vices and try the virtues of mankind, there are few disorders, of which the consequences are more dreadful or the remedy in general more desperate than the *judhám* of the *Arabs* or *khórab* of the *Indians*: it is also called in *Arabia díül'ásad*, a name corresponding with the *Leontiasis* of the *Greeks*, and supposed to have been given in allusion to the grim distracted and *lionlike* countenances of the miserable persons, who are affected with it. The more common name of the distemper is *Elephantiasis*, or, as *Lucretius* calls it, *Elephas*, because it renders the skin, like that of an *Elephant*, uneven and wrinkled, with many tubercles and furrows; but this complaint must not be confounded with

the *dáül'fil*, or *swelled legs*, described by the *Arabian* physicians, and very common in this country. It has no fixed name in *English*, though *HILLARY*, in his *Observations on the Diseases of Barbadoes*, calls it the *Leprosy of the joints*, because it principally affects the extremities, which in the last stage of the malady are distorted and at length drop off; but, since it is in truth a distemper corrupting the whole mass of blood, and therefore considered by *PAUL of Aegina* as *an universal ulcer*, it requires a more general appellation, and may properly be named the *Black Leprosy*; which term is in fact adopted by *M. BOISSIEU de SAUVAGES* and *GORREUS*, in contradistinction to the *White Leprosy*, or the *Beres* of the *Arabs* and *Leuce* of the *Greeks*.

This disease, by whatever name we distinguish it, is peculiar to hot climates, and has rarely appeared in *Europe*: the philosophical Poet of *Rome* supposes it confined to *the banks of the Nile*; and it has certainly been imported from *Africa* into the *West-India Islands* by the black slaves, who carried with them their resentment and their revenge; but it has been long known in *Hinduftan*, and the writer of the following Dissertation, whose father was Physician to *NA'DIRSHÁ'H* and accompanied him from *Persia* to *Debli*, assures me that it rages with virulence among the native inhabitants of *Cal-*

*cutta.* His observation, that it is frequently a consequence of the *venereal infection*, would lead us to believe, that it might be radically cured by *Mercury*; which has, nevertheless, been found ineffectual, and even hurtful, as HILLARY reports, in the *West Indies*. The juice of *hemlock*, suggested by the learned MICHAELIS, and approved by his medical friend ROEDERER, might be very efficacious at the beginning of the disorder, or in the milder sorts of it; but, in the case of a malignant and inveterate *judhám*, we must either administer a remedy of the highest power, or, agreeably to the desponding opinion of CELSUS, *leave the patient to his fate, instead of teasing him with fruitless medicines*, and suffer him, in the forcible words of ARETAEUS, *to sink from inextricable slumber into death*. The life of a man is, however, so dear to him by nature, and in general so valuable to society, that we should never despise, while a spark of it remains; and, whatever apprehensions may be formed of future danger from the distant effects of *arsenick*, even though it should eradicate a present malady, yet, as no such inconvenience has arisen from the use of it in *India*, and, as Experience must ever prevail over Theory, I cannot help wishing, that this ancient *Hindu* medicine may be fully tried under the inspection of our *European* Surgeons, whose minute accu-

racy and steady attention must always give them a claim to superiority over the most learned natives; but many of our countrymen have assured me, that they by no means entertain a contemptuous opinion of the native medicines, especially in diseases of the skin. Should it be thought, that the mixture of sulphur must render the poison less active, it may be advisable at first to administer orpiment, instead of the *crystalline arsenick*.

ON THE  
CURE OF THE ELEPHANTIASIS,  
AND  
*OTHER DISORDERS OF THE BLOOD.*  
TRANSLATED BY  
THE PRESIDENT.

---

GOD is the all-powerful Healer.

IN the year of the MESSIAH 1783, when the worthy and respectable *Máulavi Mi'r Muham-méd Husai'n*, who excels in every branch of useful knowledge, accompanied Mr. RICHARD JOHNSON from *Lac'hnaü* to *Calcutta*, he visited the humble writer of this tract, who had long been attached to him with sincere affection; and, in the course of their conversation, ‘One of the fruits of my late excursion, said he, is a present for you, which suits your profession, and will be generally useful to our species: conceiving you to be worthy of it by reason of your assiduity in medical inquiries, I have brought you a prescription, the ingredients of which are easily found, but not easily equalled

‘ as a powerful remedy against all corruptions  
 ‘ of the blood, the *judhám*, and the *Persian* fire,  
 ‘ the remains of which are a source of infinite  
 ‘ maladies. It is an old secret of the *Hindu*  
 ‘ Physicians; who applied it also to the cure of  
 ‘ cold and moist distempers, as the palsy, distor-  
 ‘ tions of the face, relaxation of the nerves, and  
 ‘ similar diseases: its efficacy too has been proved  
 ‘ by long experience; and this is the method of  
 ‘ preparing it.

‘ Take of white *arsenick*, fine and fresh, one  
 ‘ *tólá*; of picked black pepper six times as  
 much: let both be well beaten at intervals for  
 ‘ four days successively in an iron mortar, and  
 ‘ then reduced to an impalpable powder in one  
 ‘ of stone with a stone pestle, and thus com-  
 ‘ pletely levigated, a little water being mixed  
 ‘ with them. Make pills of them as large as  
 ‘ tares or small pulse, and keep them dry in a  
 ‘ shady place\*.

\* The lowest weight in general use among the *Hindus* is the *reti*, called in *Sanscrit* either *retticà* or *racticà*, indicating redness, and *crisñalà* from *crisñna*, black: it is the red and black seed of the *gunjà*-plant (!), which is a creeper of the

(1) The *gunjà*, I find, is the *Abrus* of our botanists, and I venture to describe it from the wild plant compared with a beautiful drawing of the flower magnified, with which I was favoured by Dr. ANDERSON.

#### CLASS XVII. Order IV.

CAL. Perianth funnel-shaped, indented above.

Cor.

' One of those pills must be swallowed morning and evening with some *betel*-leaf, or, in countries where *betel* is not at hand, with cold water; if the body be cleansed from foulness and obstructions by gentle catharticks and

same class and order at least with the *glycyrrhiza*; but I take this from report, having never examined its blossoms. One *ratticà* is said to be of equal weight with three barley-corns or four grains of rice in the husk; and eight *reti*-weights, used by jewellers, are equal to seven carats. I have weighed a number of the seeds in diamond-scales, and find the average Apothecary's weight of one seed to be a grain and *five-sixteenths*. Now in the *Hindu* medical books ten of the *ratticà*-seeds are one *máshaca*, and eight *máshaca*'s make a *tólaca* or *tólà*; but in the law-books of *Bengal* a *máshaca* consists of sixteen *ratticà*'s, and a *tólaca* of five *máshà*'s; and, according to some authorities, five *reti*'s only go to one *máshà*, sixteen of which make a *tólaca*. We may observe, that the silver *reti*-weights, used by the goldsmiths at *Banáres*, are twice as heavy as the seeds; and thence it is, that eight *reti*'s are commonly said to constitute one *máshà*, that is, eight silver weights, or sixteen seeds; eighty of which seeds, or 105 grains, constitute the quantity of arsenick in the *Hindu* prescription.

COR. Cymbiform. Awning roundish, pointed, nerved.

Wings, lanced, shorter than the awning.

Keel, rather longer than the wings.

STAM. Filaments nine, some shorter; united in two sets at the top of a divided, bent, awl-shaped body.

PIST. Germ inserted in the calyx. Style very minute at the bottom of the divided body. Stigma, to the naked eye, obtuse; in the microscope, feathered.

PER. A legume. Seeds, spheroidal; black, or white, or scarlet with black tips.

LEAVES, pinnated; some with, some without, an odd leaflet.

‘ bleeding, before the medicine is administered,  
‘ the remedy will be speedier.’

The principal ingredient of this medicine is the *arsenick*, which the *Arabs* call *Shucc*, the *Persians* *mergi müşk*, or *mouse-bane*, and the *Indians*, *sanc'hyá*; a mineral substance ponderous and *crystalline*: the *orpiment*, or *yellow arsenick*, is the weaker sort. It is a deadly poison, and so subtil, that, when mice are killed by it, the very smell of the dead will destroy the living of that species: after it has been kept about seven years, it loses much of its force; its colour becomes turbid; and its weight is diminished. This mineral is hot and dry in the fourth degree: it causes suppuration, dissolves or unites, according to the quantity given; and is very useful in closing the lips of wounds, when the pain is too intense to be borne. An unguent made of it with oils of any sort is an effectual remedy for some cutaneous disorders, and, mixed with rose-water, it is good for cold tumours and for the dropsy; but it must never be administered without the greatest caution; for such is its power, that the smallest quantity of it in powder, drawn, like *álcool*, between the eye-lashes, would in a single day entirely corrode the coats and humours of the eye; and fourteen *reti's* of it would in the same time destroy life. The best antidote against its effects are the scrap-

ings of leather reduced to ashes: if the quantity of arsenick taken be accurately known, four times as much of those ashes, mixed with water and drunk by the patient, will sheath and counteract the poison.

The writer, conformably to the directions of his learned friend, prepared the medicine; and, in the same year, gave it to numbers, who were reduced by the diseases above mentioned to the point of death: God is his witness, that they grew better from day to day, were at last completely cured, and are now living (except one or two, who died of other disorders) to attest the truth of this assertion. One of his first patients was a *Pársì*, named MENU'CHEHR, who had come from *Surat* to this city, and had fixed his abode near the writer's house: he was so cruelly afflicted with a confirmed lues, here called *the Persian Fire*, that his hands and feet were entirely ulcerated and almost corroded, so that he became an object of disgust and abhorrence. This man consulted the writer on his case, the state of which he disclosed without reserve. Some blood was taken from him on the same day, and a cathartick administered on the next. On the third day he began to take the arsenick-pills, and, by the blessing of God, the virulence of his disorder abated by degrees, until signs of returning health appeared; in a

fortnight his recovery was complete, and he was bathed, according to the practice of our Physicians : he seemed to have no virus left in his blood, and none has been since perceived by him.

But the power of this medicine has chiefly been tried in the cure of the *juzám*, as the word is pronounced in *India*; a disorder infecting the whole mass of blood, and thence called by some *fízádi khún*. The former name is derived from an *Arabick* root signifying, in general, *amputation*, *maiming*, *excision*, and, particularly, the *truncation or erosion of the fingers*, which happens in the last stage of the disease. It is extremely contagious, and, for that reason, the Prophet said : *ferrú mina'lmajdhúmi camáteferrú mina'l ásad*, or, ‘ Flee from a person afflicted ‘ with the *judhám*, as you would flee from a ‘ lion.’ The author of the *Babru'ljawáhir*, or *Sea of Pearls*, ranks it as an infectious malady with the *measles*, the *small-pox*, and the *plague*. It is also *hereditary*, and, in that respect, classed by medical writers with the *gout*, the *consumption*, and the *white leprosy*.

A common cause of this distemper is the unwholesome diet of the natives, many of whom are accustomed, after eating a quantity of *fish*, to swallow copious draughts of *milk*, which fail not to cause an accumulation of yellow and

black bile, which mingles itself with the blood and corrupts it: but it has other causes; for a *Bráhmen*, who had never tasted *fish* in his life, applied lately to the composer of this essay, and appeared in the highest degree affected by a corruption of blood; which he might have inherited, or acquired by other means. Those, whose religion permits them to eat *beef*, are often exposed to the danger of heating their blood intensely through the knavery of the butchers in the *Bázár*, who fatten their calves with *Baláwer*; and those, who are so ill-advised as to take *provocatives*, a folly extremely common in *India*, at first are insensible of the mischief, but, as soon as the increased moisture is dispersed, find their whole mass of blood inflamed, and, as it were, adust; whence arises the disorder, of which we now are treating. The *Persian*, or venereal, Fire generally ends in this malady; as one *DE'VI' PRASA'D*, lately in the service of Mr. *VANSITTART*, and some others, have convinced me by an unreserved account of their several cases.

It may here be worth while to report a remarkable case, which was related to me by a man, who had been afflicted with the *juzám* near four years; before which time he had been disordered with the *Persian* fire, and, having closed an ulcer by the means of a strong healing

plaster, was attacked by a violent pain in his joints: on this he applied to a *Cabirája*, or *Hindu* Physician, who gave him some pills, with a positive assurance, that the use of them would remove his pain in a few days; and in a few days it was, in fact, wholly removed; but, a very short time after, the symptoms of the *ju-zám* appeared, which continually increased to such a degree, that his fingers and toes were on the point of dropping off. It was afterwards discovered, that the pills, which he had taken, were made of cinnabar, a common preparation of the *Hindus*; the heat of which had first stirred the humours, which, on stopping the external discharge, had fallen on the joints, and then had occasioned a quantity of adust bile to mix itself with the blood and infect the whole mass.

Of this dreadful complaint, however caused, the first symptoms are a numbness and redness of the whole body, and principally of the face, an impeded hoarse voice, thin hair and even baldness, offensive perspiration and breath, and whitlows on the nails. The cure is best begun with copious bleeding, and cooling drink, such as a decoction of the *nilifer*, or *Nymphaea*, and of violets, with some doses of manna: after which stronger catharticks must be administered. But no remedy has proved so efficacious as the

pills composed of arsenick and pepper: one instance of their effect may here be mentioned, and many more may be added, if required.

In the month of *February* in the year just mentioned, one *Shaikh RAMAZA'NI'*, who then was an upper-servant to the Board of Revenue, had so corrupt a mass of blood, that a black leprosy of his joints was approaching; and most of his limbs began to be ulcerated: in this condition he applied to the writer, and requested immediate assistance. Though the disordered state of his blood was evident on inspection, and required no particular declaration of it, yet many questions were put to him, and it was clear from his answers, that he had a confirmed *juzám*: he then lost a great deal of blood, and, after due preparation, took the arsenick-pills. After the first week his malady seemed alleviated; in the second it was considerably diminished, and, in the third, so entirely removed, that the patient went into the bath of health, as a token that he no longer needed a physician.



\*  
TALES AND FABLES

BY

NIZAMI.



## ADVERTISEMENT.

NIZAMI holds a distinguished rank among the *Persian* poets of the first class. Inferior to FIRDAUSI alone in loftiness of thought and heroick majesty, to MAULAVI RUM, perhaps, in variety and liveliness, and to SADI in elegant simplicity, he surpasses all others in richness of imagery and beauty of diction. With ANVARI, HAFIZ, and KHAKANI, he is not to be compared; because he wrote neither *odes*, *elegies*, nor *satires*; but confined himself to the composition of *Mesnavi* or verse in *couplets*; on which account he is said by the *Persian* Critics to have attained supreme excellence in that species of versification. Five of his poems are so universally celebrated, that they are known by the title of *Khamsah*, or *The Five*, sometimes with his name added, and sometimes without it: one of the five, which was completed in the year of CHRIST 1157, is the *Makhzeni Esrâr*, or *Treasury of Secrets*, in which the *twenty* following *Tales* and *Fables* are inserted at the close of as many Discourses on the subject of religious and moral duties. The metre of the poem, without a knowledge of which the couplets cannot be properly recited, is *choriambick*, according to this form:

*Jane patér, Jane tuéns, omniúm  
Principiúm, fons, et orígo Deúm*

with a strong accent on the last syllable of each foot.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

The warmest admirers of NIZA'MI cannot but allow, that the sententious brevity of his couplets often renders them obscure; and some of his works have been explained in very learned and elaborate commentaries. In the translation of the following fables, not only every attempt at elegance, but even the idiom of our language and the usual position of our words, have been designedly sacrificed to a scrupulous fidelity: the translator disapproves in general of such literal versions; but they are certainly useful to beginners. Those, who understand *Persian*, have no need of any translation: those, who are learning it, will be assisted by a verbal one, however inelegant; and those, who neither know nor intend to learn it, are at liberty, indeed, to say what they please of the images and sentiments, which such a version preserves, but have no right to give an opinion of the original composition.

## I.

### ON REPENTANCE

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#### THE TYRANT FORGIVEN.

A JUST Prince saw in sleep, by reason of his good conduct, the ghost of a Tyrant,

*And said to him : ‘ What hath God done with thee an oppressor ? In thy night, after the day of oppressions, what hath he done ? ’*

He said : ‘ When life came to an end for me, I looked around upon all created beings :

‘ That I might discover from whom I should have hope of direction *in the right way*, or for whom the Almighty would have an eye of favour.

‘ No kindness from me was in the heart of any one : no opinion of mercy *being shown me* was in any person.

‘ A trembling fell upon me, like a willow, my face being ashamed and my heart hopeless ;

\* The Mohammedans, we find, extend their ideas of divine mercy even to repentance *after death*.

‘ I threw my useless baggage into a whirl-pool : I made a pillow of *hoping* forgiveness from God.

I said : “ Oh ! I, wretched being, am full of shame on *approaching* thee : turn aside from this confusion, and pass over *my offences*.

“ Although I have swerved from thy command, reject me not, since I have turned back from all *my sins*.

“ Either make my chastisement with flames, or do an act opposite to the *act of* all creatures?”

‘ When he saw my shame from those who might bring assistance, He, *who is without* companions, gave me aid.’

‘ My speech prevailed on the effusion of mercy : he threw off my burden, and took me up.’

Every sigh, which is uttered in penitence, will be a guard in the tumult of resurrection.

All thy words, O thou weigher of wind, are but measuring loss, and weighing sorrow.

*While thou art* remaining in eager search of stones and pearl, *thy measure of wealth* is become empty, and the cup of *thy life*, full.

Take a measurer of thy past years and months : having measured *them*, take this month and this year.

Since with this world thou mayst purchase

the next (or *the faith*), thou must not hear the evil being, *who may say*, ‘do,’ or ‘do not.’

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## II.

## ON JUSTICE.

## NUSHIRAVAN AND HIS VAZIR.

THE courser of NUSHI'RAVA'N, *when hunting*, was at a distance from the troops of princes.

The companion of the monarch being *his* Vazir, *that was enough*: *there were* the king and *his* minister, *and no person else*.

The king in that quarter, where game might be found, saw a village desolate as the heart of an enemy.

Two birds *there* had come close together, and their notes were more contracted than the heart of the king.

He said to the *Vazir*: ‘What are they uttering? What is the twittering, which they are making with each other?’

The *Vazir* said: ‘O celebrated monarch, I

‘ would tell *it*, if the king would be a learner  
‘ by *it*.

‘ These two voices are on account of a me-  
‘ lodious conversation : it is a demand of a hus-  
‘ band concerning females.

‘ This bird had given his daughter to that  
‘ bird, *who* demands, early in the morning, the  
‘ bridal fortune.

‘ *Saying* : ‘ This deserted village thou wilt  
‘ give up to us ; and so many besides thou wilt  
‘ make over to us.’

The other says to him : ‘ Depart from this  
‘ *proposal* : see the injustice of the king ; and  
‘ go ; be not anxious.

‘ If the king be such, in no long time for this  
‘ desolate village I will give thee a hundred  
‘ thousand.’

This saying had such an effect on the mon-  
arch, that he heaved a sigh, and raised a cry  
of sorrow.

He struck his hand on his head and wept for  
some time : what is the conclusion of iniquity  
but weeping ?

For this tyranny *of his* he bit his finger with  
his teeth, *and* said, ‘ Behold this oppression  
which has even reached the birds.

‘ See *my* tyranny, that, for the sake of earthly  
‘ creatures, I make a seat for owls, instead of  
‘ tame birds.

‘ O me negligent, who have been a worshipper of the world ! it is *long* enough, that I strike my hand on my head for this business.

‘ I have taken so long the wealth of people by violence, *that* I am thoughtless of dying to-morrow and of the tomb.

‘ How long, and how shall I commit robberies ? Observe, what a sport I make with my own head.

‘ The Creator gave me a kingdom to the intent, that I should not do that, which can produce no good.

‘ I whose brafs they have besmeared with gold, am doing those acts, which they have not ordered.

‘ Why do I make my own name bad by tyranny ? I do injury ; alas ! I do it to myself.

‘ Let courtesy, *which is* better than this, be in my heart : either let me have shame before myself or before GOD !

‘ To-day oppression was my amusement : alas ! for my disgrace of to-morrow !

‘ My unsuccessful body has been one *continued* burning ; from this anguish my heart is inflamed again and again : (literally, *my heart on my heart.*)

‘ How great *has been* the raising of the dust of tyranny : the shedding of my own lustre, and the blood of men !

‘ On the day of resurrection, from me a plunderer they will again ask *an account*, and will ask it again.

‘ I inflicted shame; should I not sit ashamed? I am stone-hearted; how should my heart not be contracted?

‘ Do thou observe, how much censure I bear; for this ignominy I bear to the resurrection.

‘ Of these jewels and treasures, which it is impossible to count, what did *Sám* carry off, and what did *Ferídùn* bear away?

‘ Oh! what can I, from this city and dominion, which now exists, at the end of things bear away in my hand?’

The king, on this topick, was so warm, that by his breath the shocs of *his* horse were softened.

When he came to the station of his troops, and the standard, the scent of his lenity reached to his *whole* empire.

Now he removed his pen from that writing (*of unjust mandates*); he removed his bad habit and the way of injustice.

He diffused justice, and trampled on iniquity: till *his* last breath he departed not from that course;

Until from the many turns of his trials by fortune, he died; and the fame of justice *remains* in *its* place

In the writing of every noble-minded man  
is found the coin of his name, the title of *the just*.

At length he found a good end: whoever  
has knocked at the door of justice, has found  
that name.

Pass thy life in the contentment of hearts,  
that the Creator may be contented with thee.

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### III.

## ON LABOUR.

### THE BIRD OF SOLOMON AND THE OLD FARMER.

ONE day, when a season of rest from business  
came, the wind of *Solomon* (which wafted his  
throne) came to a bright lamp (an enlightened  
man.)

His *whole* realm placed their furniture on  
the plain; while he placed his throne on that  
crystal floor (the air).

He saw in a manner that his heart was re-  
freshed by it, an old husbandman in that level  
field,

*Who had cleared his house of every handful*

of grain, and had thrown it into the granary of God's mercy.

He was scattering grain in every corner, and from every grain of his grew an ear of corn.

In the way of the grain, which the husbandman placed, the bird of *Soliman* opened a discourse.

He said, ‘ Be generous, O old man, thus much has been *done* by thee : it is necessary to eat.

‘ Thou art not a snare ; scatter not grains : do not an injury to a bird like me.

‘ Thou hast no harrow ; scratch not the clod of the field : thou wilt not find water ; sow not the barley of a husbandman.

‘ We, who have sown in well-watered ground, what do we bear away of that, which we have sown.

‘ Oh ! in this sowing place, which burns the grain, how wilt thou bring to the day the grain sown without water ?’

The old man said to him : ‘ Be not uneasy at my answer : I am unconcerned about the nourishment of earth and water !

‘ With moist and with dry, I have no business ; the grain from me is nourishment from the Creator.

‘ My harrow, behold, is the tip of my finger : my water, behold, is the sweat of my back.

‘ *It is he, who gives me good tidings of himself;* a single grain gives me a hundred.

‘ Sow not grain in partnership with *Shaitan*,  
‘ that from one seven hundred may come to  
‘ *thy* use.

‘ I have no anxiety for dominion and em-  
‘ pire; as long as I live this grain *is* a suf-  
‘ ficiency for me.

‘ A proper grain will first be necessary; that  
‘ the knot of the ear may open rightly.

‘ To every eye that they have (God has) en-  
‘ lightened, they have sewed a mantle by the  
‘ measure of the body.

‘ The furniture of *Mesihà* not every ass  
‘ draws: the confidential counsellor of state is  
‘ not every head.

‘ A rhinoceros gnaws the neck of an ele-  
‘ phant; the ant passes not from the foot of  
‘ the locust.

‘ The sea, with a thousand rivers *flowing into*  
‘ it, is calm; the *Dijlah* with a single torrent  
‘ raises a martial noise.

‘ Within this azure circle, the rank of a  
‘ man is *adapted* to the value of the man.

‘ A wealthy man must be endued with  
‘ wariness, who, from a little luxury doth not  
‘ come to streights.’

## IV.

## ON GOVERNMENT.

## THE OLD WOMAN AND SANJAR.

AN act of injustice oppressed an old woman, *who* struck her hands together and caught the skirts of SANJAR,

*Saying*, ‘O king, I have seldom seen thy lenity, and from thee every year I have seen oppression.

‘ A drunken officer of government, having come into my street, gave several kicks on my face.

‘ He thrust me without any crime out of the house ; pulling my hair he dragged me to the end of the street.

‘ In the abode of oppression he gave me no time (no leisure) : he placed the seal of injustice on the door of my dwelling-house.

‘ He said, “ In the middle of a certain night, “ O crooked backed *woman*, who killed a “ certain man at the corner of thy street ? ”

‘ He took away my dwelling ; yet where is the murderer ? O king, where is there disorder greater than this ? ’

‘ Let the officer be drunk, that he may shed  
‘ blood ! why should he act violently with an  
‘ old woman ?

‘ The weighers of *provisions* take away the  
‘ property of the realm ; then they throw the  
‘ blame upon old women.

‘ He, who has turned his view upon this  
‘ oppression, has taken away my veil (*my ho-*  
‘ *nour*) and *the fame* of thy justice.

‘ My wounded bosom has been beaten :  
‘ nothing remains of me or of my vital spirit..

‘ If thou do not give me justice, O monarch,  
‘ on the day of reckoning thou wilt have an  
‘ account with me.

‘ I see no judgement and justice in thee :  
‘ and from oppression I behold thee not exempt.

‘ From kings come strength and assistance :  
‘ from thee behold what ignominy comes upon  
‘ me.

‘ To take the property of orphans is not  
‘ proper : depart *from it*, for this is not lawful  
‘ plunder.

‘ Commit no robbery on the small property  
‘ of old women, take shame from *the few grey*  
‘ *hairs* of an old woman.

‘ Thou art a slave, and makest a claim to  
‘ royalty : thou art not a king, if thou cause  
‘ ruin.

‘ A king, who duly arranges his empire,

‘ should command *his* people with due regard ;

‘ So that all may place their heads on the writing of *his* edict, and may place a love of him in *their* heart and in *their* soul.

‘ Thou hast turned thy kingdom upside-down ; as long as thou existest, after all, what virtuous act hast thou done ?

‘ The state of the Turks, which attained loftiness, acquired empire from the love of justice.

‘ Since thou cherishest injustice, thou art no Turk : thou art an Hindu plunderer.

‘ The habitations of the city are through thee deserted ; the field of the husbandman is through thee without grain.

‘ Make a reckoning of the approach of death : power comes upon thee ; make some fortress.

‘ Justice is a lamp for thee, enlightening night ; it is to-day a companion to thee for to-morrow.

‘ Make old women glad with *mild* words ; and remember this address from old women.

‘ With-hold thy hand from the head of the helpless ; that thou mayst not taste the battle-axe of the afflicted.

‘ How many arrows so-ever thou shootest in every corner, thou art unmindful of the forest without provision.

‘ Thou camest a key to the conquest of the world ; thou camest not to light for the sake of injustice.

‘ Thou art a king, for that *purpose* that thou mayst diminish wrong ; that, if others be wounded, thou mayst make a salve *for them*.

‘ The manners of the weak would be honouring thee ; and thy manners ought to be cherishing *them*.

‘ Give ear to the suppliant tone of words ; guard two or three who sit in corners.

‘ Did Sanjar, who took the province of *Khorásán*, suffer diminution *to his glory*, in that he took this discourse complacently ?

‘ Justice, in this age, has cast her feathers : she has fixed her abode in the plumage of the *fabulous SIMORGH*.

‘ *A sense of shame* remains not within this blue vault ; *a gleam of honour* remains not in this suspended earth.’

## V.

## ON INDEPENDENCE.

## THE OLD BRICK MAKER.

ON the border of *Sbám* was an old man, *who*, like a fairy, was attached to a corner, apart from mankind.

His own shirt he wove of vegetable threads: he made bricks, and thence found a livelihood.

The strikers with the sword, when they threw down their shields, made a shield of those bricks in the tomb.

Whoever had no veil but those bricks, although he had committed a crime, there was no punishment for him.

One day the old man was engaged in this work and burden; a troublesome fellow greatly increased his trouble.

*Saying*, ‘What disorder and dejection is this? this is a work of clay; Service is the business of an ass.

‘Rise, and strike thy sword on the head of this earth; for they will not with-hold one loaf of bread from thee.

‘ Throw the body of these bricks into the fire ; cast thy bricks into another shape.

‘ As many tiles as thou makest with trouble,  
‘ what dost thou possess in clay and waters ?

‘ Number thyself among the old ; leave the  
‘ work of the young to young men.’

The old man said to him, ‘ Act not the part  
‘ of youth : depart from the business, and be  
‘ not troublesome.

‘ Let making bricks be the habit of old men ;  
‘ let carrying burdens be the work of captives.

‘ I have stretched out *my* hand to this habit,  
‘ *such* as it is, that I may not stretch out my  
‘ hand before any person.

‘ I have not been a stretcher out of hands  
‘ to any one for the sake of treasure. I receive  
‘ this act of *servility* from the hand of sorrow.

‘ For this reason blame not my pain : if it  
‘ be not so, hold me not a lawful *companion*.’

On the discourse of the old man, his young  
reprover departed weeping from before him.

## VI.

## ON HOPE.

## THE HUNTER, THE DOG, AND THE FOX.

THERE was a hunter, wonderfully sharp-fighted, a traverser of deserts, and a chuser of long journies.

He had a lion-dog, who, when he caught a scent, caught the *passing* shadow of the sun on the an-slope.

The rhinoceros *was* terrified by his neck, and the wild ass by his elk-overthrowing teeth.

In his travel *this dog had* come as his companion and friend, for several nights and days he had come into use.

His heart, kindling affection, was *placed* upon him: the guard of night and the sustenance of his day *was* upon him.

That lion-dog was lost from the lion-man: the man, in that anguish of the liver, wept.

He said, ‘In this road, where fate interposes, ‘the head of a lion is the price of one dog’s ‘footstep.’

Though, in that affliction, he tore his heart

from *his* soul, yet he pressed his own liver with *his* teeth.

He acted with a patience, that was not *naturally* in him. Every barley-corn of patience brought money for interest.

A fox, taunting *him*, came from a distance, and said: ‘Act not the patient man. O thou ‘impatient!

‘I hear that that excellent runner stays not ‘with thee: wind *must be* thy remnant, if that ‘dog remains not.

‘Yesterday when from before thee he went ‘for game, he made a keen run, and was only ‘a taker of non-existence.

‘That, which the dog this day has made ‘thy game, may be enough for thee, O lion-‘man, for two months.

‘Rise, and give some roast meat to thy ‘wounded heart; do thou eat the flesh, give ‘the hide to the poor.

‘Thy lip fed on fatness before this; but thou ‘wilt eat a fat fox no more.

‘Thou art secure from the oil of our limbs; ‘thy constitution has escaped from our bile, ‘(*occasioned by our flesh.*)

‘Thou art far from him: what fidelity is ‘this? thou art not afflicted: what heart-‘breaking (*liver-eating*) is this?’

The hunter said to him : ‘ The night is in  
 ‘ labour *with events* ; this grief of one day is to  
 ‘ my mind, (*or for my good*).

‘ I am glad on that *account*, that in the  
 ‘ narrow mansion *of the world*, joy and sorrow  
 ‘ have neither of them duration.

‘ This is all dominion and all vassalage, there  
 ‘ is not in this world any felicity.

‘ The stars and the spheres are in motion,  
 ‘ pleasure and pain are in their passage.

‘ I am glad that my heart is sorrowful, be-  
 ‘ cause the coming of sorrow is the occasion of  
 ‘ cheerfulness.

‘ To my wolf the condition of *Yūsuf* has  
 ‘ come ; *but* I am not a wolf : I will not rend  
 ‘ my vest.

‘ If they take him from me, O thou plotter  
 ‘ of stratagems, they will bring him back to  
 ‘ me with such game as thou.’

He was in his speech ; when a *cloud of* dust  
 came ; the dog became apparent from the veil  
 of concealment.

‘ He came, and round him took two *or* three  
 ‘ turns ; then he caught the carrion hide of the  
 ‘ fox in his teeth.

He said, ‘ I am come late to this contemptible  
 ‘ *animal* ; but let a fox know, that I am come,  
 ‘ like a lion,

‘ My collar was hung upon thy faith, the  
‘ taunting speech of the fox was *an incentive to*  
‘ thy lively hope.’

Whoever places his confidence in ~~the~~ supreme will, brings the conclusion of his work to happiness,

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## VII.

## ON PROTECTION.

## FERIDUN AND THE ANTELOPE.

ONE morning, with two or three persons of confidence, FERIDUN went out for recreation.

When he came hunting to a lawn, FERIDUN saw his game a little antelope.

*Its* neck and ear exempt from hostility; *its* eye and haunches *employed* in making intercession.

Thou mayst say, that, from the *very* place where it was caught by the eye, it had bounded out of the king’s sight,

The king was so captivated by that game, that the whole of him was bounded by that prey.

He made RAKHSH (or *Lightning*, the name of a pied horse) hot upon it, like its liver ; he made the back of *his* bow soft, like its bowels.

His arrow, with that excellence, passed from it ; RAKHSH, in that course, came not to its dust.

*The king* said to the arrow : ‘ Where is that ‘ thy wing of vengeance ? ’ He said to RAKHSH ; ‘ Where is that thy swiftness of faith ? ’

‘ Both *of you* in this affair are much wounded, are reproached by this little grass-eater.’

The arrow became a tongue, *saying*, ‘ O ‘ guard of the frontiers, this dumb *animal* is an ‘ object of thy regard ;

‘ In the asylum of thy coat of mail, it frisks ‘ around ; what harrow-head can pierce the head ‘ of thy armour ? ’

‘ Since it has been favoured with a look of the ‘ fortunate, it would not be pleasant that only ‘ the hand of musicians *should be* on its cymbal ‘ (its hide). ’

‘ Seek the mark (*the service*) of the exalted, ‘ O intelligent man, that thou mayst be exalted ‘ above the mark (*the burning*) of the lofty.’

## VIII.

## ON VIGILANCE.

## THE HERBMAN, THE CUTPURSE, AND THE FOX.

THERE was a fruit-seller, whose place of *abode* was YEMEN: a little fox was the store-keeper of his ward-robe,

*Who* used to keep an eye of attention on the edge of the way: he used to guard the cottage of the herb-man.

A CUT-PURSE contrived several deep schemes, *but* his depth produced no advantage.

He closed his eyes together, when the fox took his mark: *he pretended that* he slept, and by sleeping took the vein of his life.

When the fox saw the sleeping of that wolf, sleep came upon him, and he drew in his head.

The cut-purse reckoned that sleep a gift of fortune: he came, and took away that fortune's gift, the purse.

Whoever, in this passage *through life* make a place of slumber, either his head or his crown goes from his hand.

## IX.

## ON FATE AND FREEWILL.

## THE RECLUSE TURNED LIBERTINE.

AN attendant on the *Mesjid* was close shut up from calamities, *but* he became assiduous in frequenting the street of taverns:

He conveyed wine to his mouth, and like wine shed tears; saying, ‘ O me miserable! what refuge is there for me.

‘ The bird of desire was at rest in my heart; *but* the grains of my rosary were a snare to me.

‘ The *Câba* was the plunderer of my precious time; the house of *Islam* became a tavern.

‘ It was my bad ascendant: I was ill-starred: I was destined for the dwelling of *profligate Kalandars*.

‘ The eye of good breeding is under a veil for me; the street, where taverns are, is disordered through me.

‘ Let the blame of the world be upon me, *who am* driven *from it*; but let my own dust be far removed from my skirts.

‘ Were it not *my fate*, how could I and *the*

‘ *idol Lat come together?* how could a servant of  
 ‘ the *Mesjid* and the place of taverns *agree?*’

A young fellow, who was *hid* in the same  
 veil, said with spirit from the place, whence he  
 had cast his eye,

‘ *Hold this conduct remote from the way of*  
 ‘ *destiny:* a hundred thousand, such as thou,  
 ‘ *are a single barley-corn to the divine will.*

‘ Come to the gate of asking pardon, and thou  
 ‘ *wilt wash away thy sin,* and then tell a different  
 ‘ *story of this strain.*

‘ When thou shalt go, the acceptor of ex-  
 ‘ *cuses will take thee;* if not, he will himself  
 ‘ *come, and bear thee away captive.*

‘ To feed on green vegetables from the sur-  
 ‘ *face of the earth,* is enough: this firmament  
 ‘ *is a sufficient sugar-cane for thy milk.*

‘ Till he shall take thy water *from thee,* make  
 ‘ *a provision of it;* for one short day seek a  
 ‘ corner of *retirement* on account of thy ap-  
 ‘ *proaching dissolution.*

‘ Thine eye *drowned* in bloody tears was not  
 ‘ *pleasing;* the living and the dead *sunk* in the  
 ‘ *same slumber,*

‘ *Heaven* saw thine eye thus drunken with  
 ‘ *sleep,* it concealed its face under a veil.

## X.

## ON CANDOUR AND DETRACTION.

## THE BENEVOLENCE OF JESUS.

THE foot of *Mesihhà*, which was traversing the world, passed by the end of a little market place.

A wolf-dog had fallen in the path-way: his *Yûsuf* (his life) had escaped out of the pit (*his body*).

A crowd was gazing on the head of the dead *beast*, in the manner of carrion-eating vultures.

One said: ‘ The disgustfulness of this *carcase* ‘ brings offence to our brain, like wind on a ‘ lamp.’

And another said: ‘ That account is not sufficient: it is blindness to the eye, and torment ‘ to the heart.’

Every man produced a note in this strain, and showed spight against the head of the dead *dog*.

When the turn of *Jesus* came to speak, he laid blame aside, and came with moral wisdom.

He said, from that rich imagery, which is in the palace of his *mind*, ‘ pearls are not equal in ‘ whiteness to his teeth.’

And those two or three persons made their

own teeth white with that burned shell (*meaning the carcase*) from the fear of *rebuke*, and the hope of *forgiveness*.

Look not on the faults of people and the merits of thyself: cast thine eye down on thy own collar.

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## XI.

### ON THE INSTABILITY OF EARTHLY ADVANTAGES.

#### THE PHILOSOPHER AND THE GARDEN.

A PHILOSOPHER from the realm of *Hindūstān* took his way towards a garden.

He saw a station with a painted edifice; he found a royal mansion with ornamented tapestry.

The rose-bud, like the world, tucking up his robe for blood; the poppy not considering the shortness of his life.

Flowers of many a hue raised from the bower, wine mixed with sugar close confined (*in the stalks or nectaria*).

The thorn with its shield pierced by his own shaft, the willow trembling for his own life.

The locks of the violet *forming* a rope for his neck, the eye of the narcissus *shedding* coins into his lap.

The poppy receiving gems from the turkoise *throne* of the rose; the poppy *lasting* for one breath (moment), the rose for one day.

Their duration is for one instant, no more; none of them are attentive to the end.

When the sage had departed from that bower of paradise, after some months he passed towards the same quarter.

For those flowers and nightingales which he had seen in that garden, he perceived the noise of drunkenness from kites and crows,

The verdure of the garden changed for an exhalation, the nosegay of flowers for daggers of thorns.

The old man looked on that quick departing *beauty*: he laughed at all the *flowers*, and wept for himself.

He said: ‘In the time of display nothing has the property of permanence.

‘Whoever has raised his head from a little earth and water, has been drawn in the end to desolation.

‘Since there is no abode better than a desolate one, I have no other inclination than to retire in solitude.’

When he had received sight by the light of

confidence *in heaven*; he became acquainted with himself, and found God.

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## XII.

## ON A BAD CONSCIENCE.

## THE TWO RIVAL PHYSICIANS.

BETWEEN two Physicians, by reason of their dwelling together, some discourse passed of alienated good will.

It was the boast of ‘*I am the man*;’ and ‘*thou art he*,’ was not turned up: it was the reign of one, and that of two was not admitted.

In truth, it is not proper that two should hear *themselves called* one; it is not fit, that both together should crop one harvest.

Who *ever* saw the banquet of two JEMSHIDS in one apartment? Who *ever* saw the place of two sabres *in* one sheath?

It was the desire of the two sages themselves, that one of the two should appropriate the dwelling.

When *this* animosity took up the girdle of hatred, *each* took *his own* way to leave the chamber empty.

Both of them in the morning uttered a strain of malice : they made an outcry like sellers of a house.

That they may depart from the cause of disarrangement ; they severally eat, like sugar, their own contrivance.

That, which ever *of them* in that house is the more strong hearted, whose draught of poison is the more destructive,

Men would give to one art the dominion of both stores of wisdom ; they would give to one body the life of two human forms.

The first rival formed a bowl of poison, which by its putrid effluvia, melted the hardest black stone.

That lion-man took his draught ; with the recollection of sugar he drank the poison easily.

A nectareous herb, which sat in it, closed the passage of the venom with an antidote.

He burned like a moth, and found *his* wings again : like a taper he hastened back to the assembly.

The other plucked a flower from the harbour ; he pronounced a charm, and breathed on the flower.

He gave to his enemy, on account of his violence, that flower more operative than his poison.

*His* enemy, from the flower, which the en-

chanter gave, through fear of it became senseless, and gave up the ghost.

*That rival* by a medicine carried the poison from his body; and this died through imagination, of a single flower.

*Such* among the many-coloured flowers, which are in the garden of the earth, is a drop of blood from the heart of a man.

N. B. He means, perhaps, that it would have the same strong effect on the mind of a murderer or tyrant, as the flower had on the imagination of the physician.



### XIII.

## ON RICHES.

### THE PILGRIM, AND THE SUFI HIS DEPOSITARY.

A TRAVELLER to the CABAH began a preparation for the journey; he performed the ceremonies of those who visit the CABAH.

That, which he held beyond the object of his business, was the sum of ten thousand *dinàrs* (pieces of gold) which he had.

A certain SUFI, a liberal man, said to him,  
 ‘ Shorten thy sleeve from trouble.

‘ It has come into my heart that honesty *in keeping a deposit* is within it ; good faith, if it be in no one *else*, is in it.’

*The pilgrim* went, and secretly carried it to his house : he delivered the ten thousand dínàrs to the SUFI,

*And* said, ‘ Keep the secret within this veil, ‘ that, when I come, thou mayst bring it to me ‘ again.’

The merchant took the way of the desert : the *Shaikh* took up the deposited gold,

*Saying*, ‘ O Lord ! and beware !’ which was itself so much, that the heart of the *dervîsh* was captivated by it.

He said, ‘ With *this* gold I have decorated ‘ my labours : I have found that treasure, which ‘ I was asking for.

‘ Let me devour quickly what God has given, ‘ that there may not be an obstacle from pro- ‘ ceeding gently.’

He opened the chain from its links : he gave a loose to pleasure for several nights.

He put his hand on the bag of *dínàrs* ; he made the locks of idols the strings of his holy girdle.

His frock and haftock were torn to pieces :

contraction of heart remaining, and abundant excuses.

He so devoured his game, that no mark of it remained: a drop of oil remained not for his lamp.

Our *Hajî*, when he came back from his journey, made an incursion, like a TURK, on his HINDU.

He said, ‘ Bring to me, O sharp-minded—,’ *the other* said ‘ What?’ He said ‘ my gold,’ *the Sufi* said to him, ‘ silence.’

‘ Suspend *thy anger* in generosity, and lay aside strife: from a defolate village who takes tribute?

‘ That sum of money has been expended in the air: from what place to what place *is the distance between* the bankrupt and the ten thousand pieces?

‘ No one has borne *safely* one incursion of TURKS; no one has delivered *securely* his goods to an HINDU.

‘ Thy ingot of *pure gold* has broken the column of my heart: I have devoured that infamy, which fits heavy on me.’

With a hundred smiles he had given his wealth to plunder: he went, and, with an hundred tears, stood by his feet.

The *Sufi* said: ‘ the world is in labour with

‘ injury ; by an injurious act it is gone : the sin  
‘ lies upon me.

‘ O be merciful, for I am penitent ; again, by  
‘ thy hand, I am become a *Muselman*.’

*The Hâjî* said to him with generosity, yet  
with a hundred agitations, ‘ arise, for of this  
‘ strain nothing was proper.’

When the silver of God was gone back to  
God, he became a destroyer of silver, and passed  
away from it.

He became his own adviser, *saying*: ‘ In this  
‘ house make no bustle : he has nothing *to re-*  
‘ *store* : what can I take from nothing ?

‘ How should I take gold, since he has not a  
‘ barley-corn ? he has no pledge *in his hand*, but  
‘ his worship *of God*.

‘ Whatever concerns that wealth and this *Sûfî*,  
‘ is a *mim* with a loop *or* a CUFICK *álfî* (that is  
‘ contains nothing).’

He said : ‘ Thou desirest that I would not  
‘ distress thee : that which was forbidden to  
‘ thee I make lawful for thee.

‘ Keep thy hand, O thou player with cups  
‘ *and balls*, like the sky, from a short sleeve and  
‘ a long hand.

‘ No heart is free from covetousness and envy ;  
‘ there is not a faithful man on the surface of  
‘ this earth.

‘ Faith is current coin ; give it not to *Sháitàn* :  
 ‘ give not to a dog-keeper the rich collar of the  
 ‘ *Faghfür* (emperor of China).’

If thou givest, O *Khwájah*, an obligation is upon thee : the stock of an indigent man it is impossible to demand back.

This is the station of vice ; making virtue *thy* provision, go, catch the skirts of faith, and retire to a corner.

The publick officer of this road is like a plunderer ; a poor man is better off than one well attended.

Fortune strikes not the moneyless : she smites the caravan of the opulent.

I have seen from that station where the world is viewed, *that* the adversity of bees is from the sweetnes of their comb.

## XIV.

### ON TRUTH.

#### THE TYRANT AND THE SAGE.

THERE was a king, who oppressed his subjects : in his fondness of *false* evidence he had the manners of *Hejjàj* (a tyrant of *Basrah*).

Whatever in the night time was born (or *conceived*) from the morning was repeated in his palace at early dawn.

One morning a person went to the king, more apt to disclose secrets than the orb of the moon,

Who from the moon acquired nightly stratagems, and from the dawn learned the art of an informer.

He said: ‘A certain old man in private has called thee a disturber, and a tyrant, and blood-thirsty.’

The king was enraged by his speech: he said, ‘Even now I put him to death.’

He spread a cloth, and scattered sand on it: (*to catch the blood*) the devil himself fled from his madness.

A youth went, like the wind, to the face of the old man: he said, ‘The king is ill disposed towards thee.

‘Before this evil-minded *tyrant* has pronounced thy doom, arise, go to him, that thou mayst bring him to his right state of mind.’

The sage performed his ablution; took his Sud; went before the king, and took up his use.

The dark-minded monarch clapped his hands ; and, from a desire of revenge, his eye *lack* towards the heel of his foot.

He said: ‘ I have heard that thou hast given  
 ‘ loose to thy speech; thou hast called me re-  
 ‘ vengeful and mad-headed.’

‘ Art thou apprized of my monarchy like that  
 ‘ of SOLIMAN? dost thou call me in this man-  
 ‘ ner an oppressive demon?’

The old man said to him: ‘ I have not been  
 ‘ sleeping: I have said worse of thee than what  
 ‘ thou repeatest.

‘ Old and young are in peril from thy act;  
 ‘ town and village are injured by thy ministry.

‘ I, who am thus enumerating thy faults, am  
 ‘ holding a mirror to thee *both* for bad and good.

‘ When the mirror shows thy blemishes truly,  
 ‘ break thyself: it is a crime to break the  
 ‘ mirror.

‘ See my truth, and apply thy understanding  
 ‘ to me; and, if it be not so, kill me on a gibbet.’

When the sage made a confession with truth,  
 the veracity of the old man had an effect on  
 him.

When the king saw that veracity of his before  
*him*, he perceived his rectitude, his own crook-  
 edness.

He said: take away his spices and his shroud,  
 bring in my sweet odours, and robe of honour.

He went back from the height of injustice:  
 he became a just prince, cherishing his subjects.

No virtuous man has kept his truth con-

cealed; for a true speech no man has been injured.

Bring truth (*rāfti*) forward, that thou mayst be saved (*raftigār*): truth from thee is victory from the Creator.

Though true words were all pearls, yet they would be harsh, *very* harsh, for ‘truth is bitter.’

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## XV.

### ON BAD MINISTERS.

#### THE YOUNG KING AND HIS MINISTERS.

I HAVE heard a tale, that, in the farthest limits of *Marv*, there was a prince, a youth like a cypress.

That country was disturbed by his government: the realm was treacherous to him, like fortune.

The old *ministers* reproved his inexperience: he *was* in peril from a disturbance half raised.

One night, with anxiety from that calamity, he dreamed, that an old man (*or Saint*) spoke to him in his sleep.

Saying : ‘ O new moon, dig up thy old ram-part, (*or sign of the Zodiack*) and, O fresh flower, strike the old branch.

‘ The new bough cannot raise its head from the cypress-grove, unless thou smite the neck of the aged stem.

‘ That the dominion may be fixed on thee, that thy life, like thy disposition, may be more pleasant.’

When the king raised up his head from heavy sleep, he removed those two *or* three persons from among *his ministers*.

He raised the new, and erased the old: the realm became fresh for the young king.

He, who makes a rent in the kingdom *is* better overthrown; an army, ill performing its engagements, is better dispersed.

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## XVI.

### ON PRUDENCE.

#### THE SENSIBLE CHILD.

A CHILD, from among those of liberal birth, went out with two *or* three of the same age.

His foot from that running was joined to his

hand, (*he fell*) : he broke the joy of his heart, and the bone of his foot.

The breath of those two or three *companions* of the same age was more contracted than the distress of his situation.

He, who was most friendly to him, said : ‘ It will be necessary to hide him at the bottom of a pit,

‘ That the secret may not be revealed like the day; that we may not be full of shame from his father.’

One of them was his enemy, a child who most considered the end of things.

He said to *himself*: ‘ Certainly, by means of these companions, the process of this business cannot remain hidden.

‘ Since they consider me, among *them* all, as his enemy, they may throw upon me the suspicion of this accident?’

He went to the father, and made him acquainted with it; so that his father provided a remedy for the mischief.

Whoever has in him the jewel of prudence, has power over every thing.

## XVII.

## ON RETIREMENT AND TEMPTATION.

## THE RECLUSE AND HIS PUPILS.

A TRAVELLER, from among the men of devotion, went *abroad*, and with the spiritual guide were a thousand pupils:

In that caravan the sage resigned in a single moment the whole stock of *his devotion* to earthly depositaries, (earthly enjoyments).

Each of *his scholars* shook his sleeve *in departing* from him, till all departed: one person remained.

The old man said to him: ‘ What design has  
‘ been formed, that all of them are gone, and  
‘ thou stayest in *thy place*? ’

\* The pupil said: ‘ Oh ! my heart is thy station; the diadem of my head is the dust of  
‘ the sole of thy foot.

‘ I came not, in the first moment, with the  
‘ wind of *levity*, that I should go back with the  
‘ same wind.

‘ Let him who expects justice, live justly;  
‘ let him who comes with the gale go with the  
‘ gale.

- ‘ The dust goes quickly; it was quickly settled:
- ‘ thence it has no permanence in one place.
- ‘ The mountain by gentle degrees attains its height; by reason of that it is so durable.
- ‘ It is the disposition of fortune to rend veils;
- ‘ it is the business of the patient to bear burdens.
- ‘ Be not the bearer of evil, if thy *robe* be not defiled; bear not the burden of nature,
- ‘ if thou beest not an *afs*.’

The taper, which every night is employed in shedding gold, (*light*) is like a truly devout man concealed under a mantle.

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## XVIII.

### ON SECRECY.

#### THE CONFIDENTIAL MINISTER.

THERE was a confidential intimate friend of JEMSHID; he was more intimately connected than the moon with the sun.

The employment of this noble youth raised its head so high, that the king exalted him above all the world.

Since for fidelity he bore away the ball from

others, the king delivered to him his treasury with the office of superintendant.

With all his near approach to the king, the youth leaped to a farther distance, like an arrow from the bow.

The secret of the monarch pierced the heart of the excellent youth: he durst not mention that secret to any one.

An old woman found the way of the virtuous youth; she found his red poppy (*his cheek*) yellow as her clay (*her complexion*).

She said: ‘O cypres, what autumn haft thou felt, who hast drunk water from the rivulet of kings.

‘ Why art thou pale, since thou drawest from that stream? What is this narrow-heartedness from that pleasantness of heart?

‘ On thee a youth why is the form of old age? Thou drinkest poppies (*red wine*): Why is thy complexion like a white violet?

‘ Thou art not the secret keeper of the king of the world. Expand thy countenance, like the heart of the world’s monarch.

‘ The face of the subject should be red through the prince; especially the cheeks of the confidential officers of the army.’

The youth said: ‘ Thy mind is unaware of this; thou art ignorant of that which is in my heart.

‘ My patience has made me the close companion of sorrow ; patience (or *abes*) has made my face so pale.

‘ The king has placed, in proportion to his own greatness, the gem of his secrets in my heart.

‘ That, which he has placed in this heart, is vast : I cannot reveal the secret of the great.

‘ I have not thus closed my heart through his words : through my own deficiency I have confined my tongue.

‘ Thence I open not with thee the door of smiles ; that, by means of my tongue, the bird of the secret may not fly out.

‘ If this secret should not pass out of my heart, I fix my mind to this, that my heart must be *full of* blood.

‘ And if I should make the hidden secret publick, fortune would utter words of fear from my head !’

The old woman said to him : ‘ Use not the person of any one : know thyself thy friend, thyself thy associate ; and enough.

‘ Hold not a single person the confident of this breath ; hold not even thy own shadow thy confidential companion.

‘ This face of *thine*, with the colour of a gold-coin, is better pale, than if it were red in a whirlpool of blood.’

I myself hear, that in the night the head says several times to the tongue ‘ beware.’

Dost thou seek the summit (or the *desired object*)? make not thy tongue *long and sharp like a sword*; make not a window dispersing secrets.

A man, who binds down his tongue, may be happy; the mad dog is a stretcher out of his tongue.

Thy best security is thy tongue under the palate: a sabre is best liked in the sheath.

The solace of this *mortal* grief is in souls; for the calamity of heads is in tongues.

Keep thy tongue in this charger (*of the world*); that thy head may not say Ah! from a *real* charger.

Open not thy lip; although there be waters of life *in it*; since behind a wall are many ears.

Whilst *men* smell not thy fragrant breath, like the violet, they will not, as *that* flower, crop thy head, by reason of thy tongue.

Hear not bad *speeches*; it is a time for dullness of hearing: speak not bad *words*, it is a season for silence.

## XIX.

## ON TACITURNITY.

## THE NIGHTINGALE AND THE HAWK.

WHEN the rose-bush blossomed in the bower of a garden, a nightingale went up to a hawk, and said,

‘ From all birds, how hast thou, being silent, born away the ball? Produce at length *the reason*. ’

‘ Since thou hast drawn breath through *thy* closed lip, thou hast not spoken a pleasing word to any one. ’

‘ Yet thy abode is the wrist of *Sanjar* (the king): thy food is the breast of the most delicate partridge. ’

‘ I, who with one twinkling of an eye, by mysterious operation, produce a hundred fine gems from my pocket, ’

‘ Why is hunting for worms my nature? Why is my mansion on the top of thorns?’

The hawk said to him: ‘ For a moment be *all* ear: observe my taciturnity, and be silent. ’

‘ I, who am a little conversant in business, perform a hundred *acts*, and repeat not one. ’

‘ Go ; for thou art beguiled by fortune ; thou  
‘ performest not one *deed*, nevertheless thou dis-  
‘ playest a thousand.

‘ Since I am all intelligence at the place of  
‘ hunting, the king gives me the breasts of par-  
‘ tridges, and his wrist.

‘ Since thou art one entire motion of a  
‘ tongue, eat worms, and sit on thorns ; and so  
‘ peace be with you.’

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## XX.

### ON THE PRIDE OF WEALTH.

#### HARU'NU'RRASHID AND HIS BARBER.

WHEN the period of the *Khaláfet* came to HA-  
RUN, the standard of ABBAS extended over the  
world.

One midnight he turned his back on the  
partner of his bed, and turned his face to the  
enjoyment of the warm bath.

A barber, who was shaving his head, *cutting*  
hair by hair dispelled his sorrow,

*Saying*, ‘ O thou, who hast been apprized of

‘ my pre-eminence, connect me to thee this day  
 ‘ by making me thy son-in-law:  
 ‘ Publish the discourse of my marriage ; make  
 ‘ thy daughter betrothed to thy servant.’

The temper of the *Khalifah* grew a little warm ; but became again inclined to lenity.

He said : ‘ My dominion has turned his liver ;  
 ‘ he has gotten wild stupidity through my amazing  
 ‘ ing grandeur.

‘ His being beside himself, has made him a talker of such nonsense : if not, he would not have made this request and demand to me.’

The next day he tried him better : the same impression was on the coin of his heart.

Thus he made trial of him several times : the habit of the man departed not from its fixed place.

Since a want of clearness carried the matter from light, *the king* carried the story to a consultation with his *Vezir*.

*Saying*, ‘ From the rough pen of a hair-cutter, has this event written on my forehead  
 ‘ by destiny fallen on my head.

‘ He must have the rank of being my son-in-law ! See what a want of good breeding suggests to him.

‘ Whenever he comes, like fate, upon my head, he throws stones upon me and upon my gems.

‘ In his mouth *is* a poniard, and in his hand a sword, I will give him the edge of a sabre without fail.’

The *Vezir* said: ‘ Thou art secure from any design of his: perhaps his foot is on the top of a treasure.

‘ When the simple man shall come towards thy head, say, “turn aside from the place, where thy foot first stood.”

‘ If he be refractory, strike off his neck; if not, dig up the place, where he stepped first.’

The man with obedience, from the desire of compliance, which he had, changed his place in the manner, that was *directed*.

When he separated his foot from the first station, the manner of the barber was different.

While his foot was on the head of a treasure, the figure of royalty was in his mirror.

When he saw his foot devoid of the treasure, he saw again the cottage of his barber’s business.

Having sewed up his mouth he saw *the property of* little speech; he had taught good-breeding to his eye and tongue.

They soon dug up the place, where he stood, and found a treasure under his foot.

Whoever sets his foot on the head of a treasure, by his own speech opens the door of the treasury.

The treasure of NEZAMI, who has thrown down the talisman, *which concealed it*, is a clear bosom and an enlightened heart.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.









